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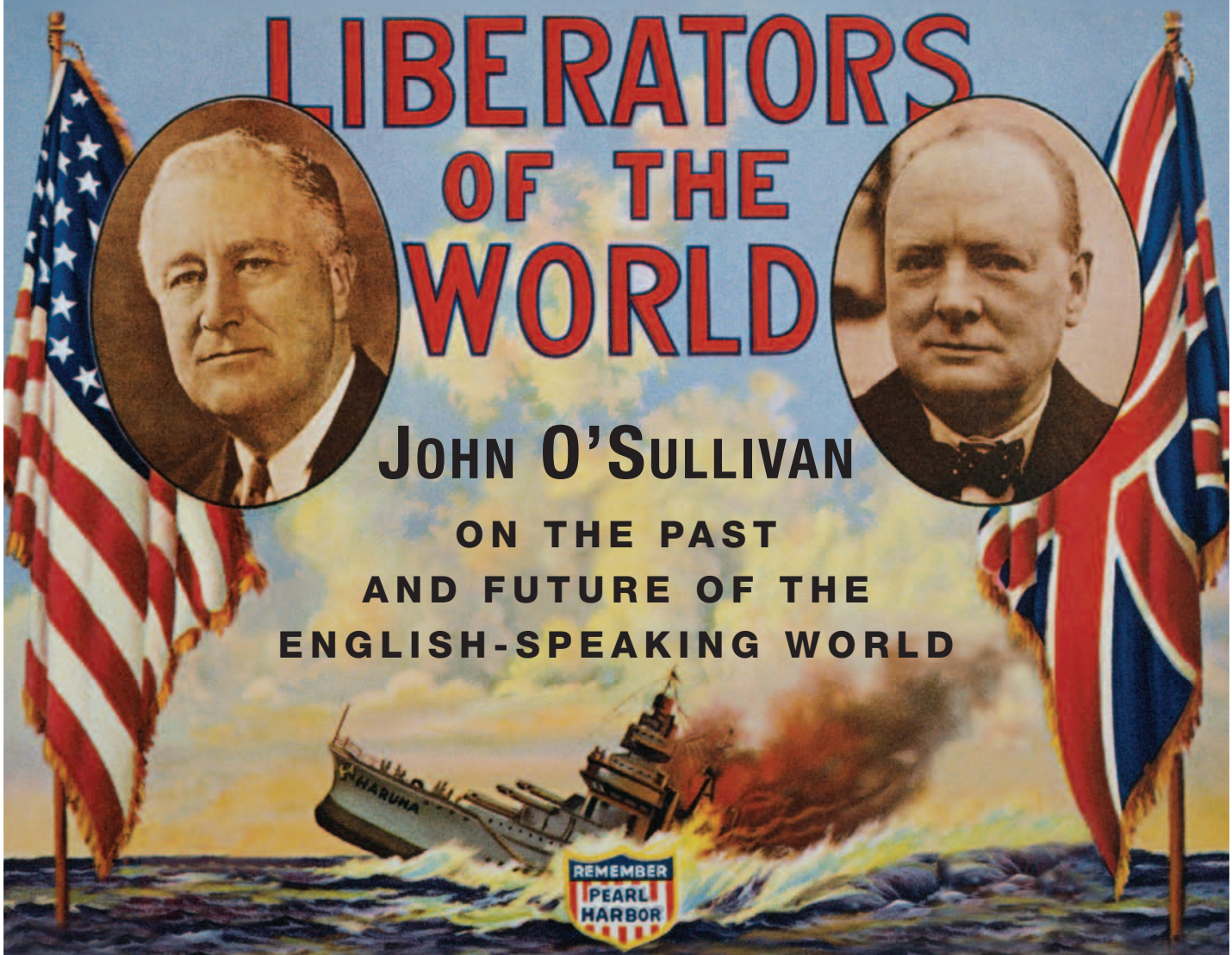

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

ON THE PAST AND FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD

Robert H. Bork • Anthony Daniels • Noemie Emery
Rob Long • John McWhorter • John J. Miller
Mark Steyn • Byron York

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NATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL 16, 2007 VOL. LIX, NO. 6

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■ ON THE COVER

Anglospheres Old and New

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Author Andrew Roberts believes that the English-speaking peoples have the resources to defeat jihadism several times over and will rally to the standard when future atrocities reveal the cruelty and ambition of its sects. When that happens, victory will be assured—since, as Churchill once declared, "If we are together, nothing is impossible." Unfortunately, as Roberts demonstrates, major obstacles persistently obstruct our getting or at least staying together. *By John O'Sullivan*

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letters to the editor

FREEDOM HOUSE: AN EXCHANGE

While preparing his article about Freedom House ("Freedom House, Rocked," April 2), John J. Miller contacted a Cuban-American organization that partners with Freedom House to promote democracy in Cuba. In an infelicitously worded e-mail, Miller inquired as to whether Freedom House had "gone soft" on Fidel Castro. He was informed that Freedom House remains stalwart in the cause of Cuban freedom. Yet this detail never made it into the article. Presumably, testimony to Freedom House's continuing commitment to Cuban freedom interfered with Miller's narrative of an organization that has lost its political clarity.

This is not the only example of Miller's simply casting aside crucial details about what Freedom House actually is and does. He writes at length, and with obvious disapproval, about Freedom House's use of American-government grants to promote democracy abroad. Nowhere, unfortunately, does he explain how this (and other) money is put to use. He does not mention our global campaign for human rights in North Korea; a bilingual Farsi-English Internet democracy journal that is read by many thousands of Iranians; a project to assist the democratic opposition in Zimbabwe; assistance to democracy advocates in Venezuela; efforts to defend and expand the rights of women in countries where Islamic radicals are seeking to roll back what minimal rights currently exist; and, oh yes, a longstanding project to assist the beleaguered band of democratic dissidents in Cuba.

Nor did Miller see fit to mention those who have made Freedom House a principal hate object—a list that includes China, Cuba, and, most vehemently, Russia, where Putin-regime insiders have launched a campaign to demonize and discredit us for our clearly written descriptions of the decline of freedom in Russia.

Russia, China, Cuba, Venezuela, Iran, Zimbabwe, North Korea—these are not simply among the world's most repressive states, they are also regimes that pose major challenges to American interests, international peace, and the future of freedom. The promotion of democratic change in these societies is at the core of the Freedom House mission today as it has been since our founding 66 years ago.

Yet Miller simply omitted any discussion of what we do on a daily basis to support democratic activists in many of the world's most repressive societies, apparently because it did not support his thesis.

Finally, in an *ad hominem* attack on our chairman, Miller conveniently forgot to mention that Dr. Peter Ackerman is a scholar and activist well known worldwide for his books and documentary films about strategy and tactics of non-violent civic action to challenge and overcome dictators.

Arch Puddington
Director of Research
Freedom House
New York, N.Y.

I am troubled by the method and the substance of Miller's article. Regarding the method, it relies on damning quotes from "a former Freedom House employee," "a current board member," "another former employee," "one insider," "one activist who was involved in these deliberations," and "a trustee." Why all the anonymity? Is Freedom

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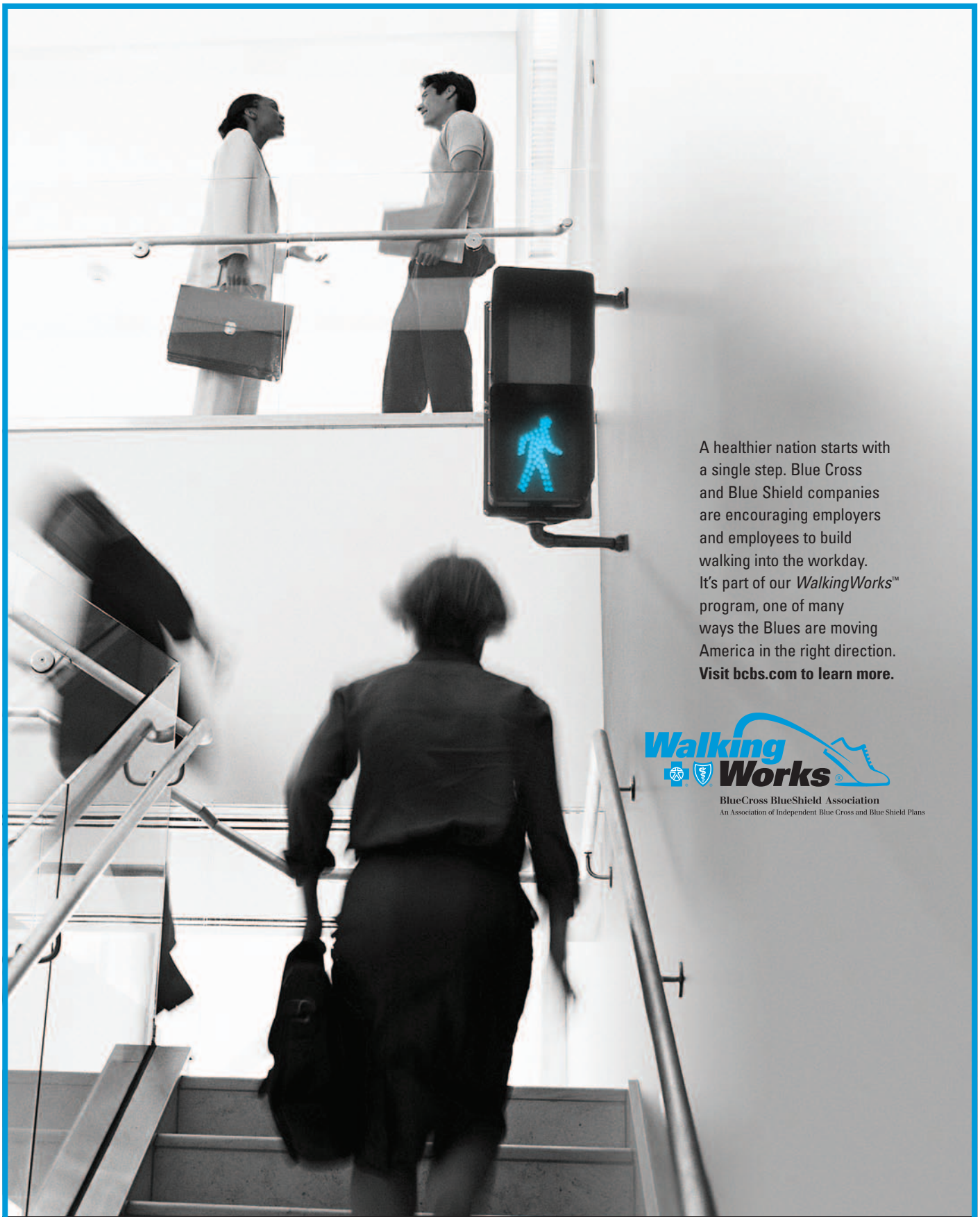

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House like the Mafia—if you talk about it, you die? And where are the quotes from Freedom House's spokesmen, giving their side of the story?

As for the substance, Freedom House's strength was never its "edgy qualities," contrary to the claim of one of the anonymous sources. Its strength always was and remains the annual Survey of Freedom. Far from having any particular ideological bent, much less any edginess, the virtue of the Survey is its painstaking objectivity. This yields results that provide the essential starting-point for thoughtful discussions of the state of human rights, freedom, or democracy in the world or its parts.

Miller takes a sentence from the Survey regarding democracy in America to mean that Freedom House applauded the Democrats' victory in 2006. I interpreted it to mean that the changes in Congress showed that the advantages of incumbency are sometimes overstated. There were, as it happens, a couple of other phrases in this year's Survey that did not seem right to me, and I conveyed my thoughts to Freedom House. But these were minor. The essence of the Survey is not in its narrative commentary but its careful numerical ratings of each country. These continue to reflect the best scholarly analysis. They remain the bedrock of our knowledge of freedom in the world. For this, and for its advocacy of freedom, Freedom House remains among the most valuable NGOs.

Joshua Muravchik
American Enterprise Institute
Academic Advisor to the
Survey of Freedom
Washington, D.C.

JOHN J. MILLER RESPONDS: Arch Puddington and Joshua Muravchik are good men and I interviewed both of them for my article. Their criticisms, however, are underwhelming.

"Why all the anonymity?" asks Josh. Well, perhaps it's because Freedom House silenced Arch five years ago after he wrote an eye-opening essay on left-wing human-rights groups for *Commentary*, as the article reported. (Interestingly, Arch avoids discussing that incident here, even though I reported on it.) These days, Freedom House isn't exactly a paragon of free expression.

Yet the claim that the article relies too heavily on unnamed sources is ridiculous. The hardest-hitting quotes—

by my lights, the ones attributed to former board member Nina Rosenwald and former employee Nina Shea—are clearly identified. "And where are the quotes from Freedom House's spokesmen?" They're in the article as well: comments from executive director Jennifer Windsor and trustee P.J. O'Rourke. Did we read the same piece?

I don't dispute Josh's contention that the "Freedom in the World" survey is an important publication. The reason I highlighted the sentence about U.S. elections in the most recent edition is twofold: 1) It's extremely peculiar, and 2) people have been talking about it (i.e., I didn't discover this line on my own—I was pointed toward it by astonished Freedom House watchers).

Arch criticizes the theme of the article, but not by tackling any of its specific points. There is no rebuttal to the vital section on the Center for Religious Freedom, which lies at the heart of the article. Nor does he quarrel with my account of problems with the Transatlantic Democracy Network and the New Generations of Advocates program.

Instead, he wishes that I had written more about Freedom House and Cuba. As it happens, I looked into this question and received mixed responses from a variety of sources. A couple of them, including Arch, said that Freedom House continues a strong tradition of battling Castro's dictatorship. A couple of others, also in a position to know, were less sure. Clearly, a judgment call was in order. I decided to mention Cuba only once, in a sentence that credits Freedom House with recognizing it as one of the world's "foes of freedom." Incidentally, when I asked Arch to provide an example of Freedom House's Cuba activities, he described a certain initiative, said that media exposure might hurt it, *and then urged me not to write about it*.

Arch also complains that I overlook other examples of Freedom House's worthy activities. I don't have space to address them all, but take the case of the Farsi-English web publication, which is called Gozaar. In our interview, Arch encouraged me to examine it. I'm in no position to rate the influence or effectiveness of Gozaar, so I contacted a couple of distinguished Iran experts. One of them had never heard of it; the other had heard of it but had not seen it. Their collective lack of knowledge impressed me.

I did take my own look at Gozaar, including its Q&A session with an Iranian activist named Mehrdad Darvishpour, who imparts wisdom such as this: "In a world where Islamic fundamentalists with their blind terrorism and neoconservatives with their warmongering bravura demonstrate the most brutal aspects of an authoritarian patriarchy . . ."

That's called moral equivalence, and there was a time when Freedom House recognized it.

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THE WEEK

■ A line for Capitol Hill: Are you carrying Senator Webb's gun, or are you just happy to see me?

■ Iran has thrown down the gauntlet by hijacking 15 British sailors and marines in the Persian Gulf. Operating under a U.N. Security Council resolution, they were carrying out the inspection of a cargo ship suspected of smuggling oil, and, according to British authorities, were in Iraqi waters. The rightful description of what occurred is piracy. Iran may have hijacked the sailors in order to use them as a bargaining chip in the confrontation over its nuclear program; or it may have been retaliating for the American detention of five Iranian Revolutionary Guards in Iraqi Kurdistan earlier this year. The making of any sort of deal whereby personnel legally arrested are exchanged for personnel illegally snatched—never mind anything that might compromise sanctions against the regime in Tehran—would mean victory for the mullahs, and the admission of impotence and humiliation for Britain, and therefore the West.

■ John and Elizabeth Edwards announced that her cancer had returned, and that his campaign for president would continue. On the first point, we send our best wishes; on the second, if not our best wishes, our appreciation. Politics is the life they chose. John believes the mistaken notions he advocates; his energy and ambition are surely among the occasions of Elizabeth's love for him. We wish Mrs. Edwards many years, with her devoted (and, we hope, unemployed) husband at her side.

■ Within days of the Edwards announcement, Tony Snow learned he had also had a recurrence of his cancer. The popular White House spokesman and former Fox News commentator was treated for colon cancer two years ago; he brought to that battle his deep faith and characteristic optimism. He faces this latest setback armed with an indomitable spirit, and the prayers of his many admirers.

■ When Khalid Sheikh Mohammed confessed during a recent hearing at Guantanamo Bay to masterminding the 9/11 attacks and a string of other terror plots, he gave us a chilling glimpse of how much worse things might have been. Mohammed claimed to have planned attacks on the Sears Tower, the Empire State Building, the New York Stock Exchange, the Panama Canal, Big Ben, and Heathrow Airport. He wanted to assassinate Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, and Pope John Paul II; he hoped to blow up suspension bridges and nuclear power plants. None of these plots succeeded, and Mohammed may have exaggerated this account of his ambitions. But there is no reason to suppose such plots cannot succeed. Thousands died because of Mohammed. He deserves a swift and relentless justice. His victims, actual and intended, deserve a renewed commitment to the defeat of his comrades still at war against us.

Al Gore, preacher-testifier *(see page 8)*

ROMAN GENN

■ The House was set to pass a bill giving D.C. voters the right to elect a full-fledged congressman. But Republicans wanted to amend the bill to give them the right to use guns to defend themselves, which would perhaps be more immediately useful to a lot of them. Fearing the amendment would pass, Nancy Pelosi pulled the bill from the floor. The biggest hometown paper savaged the Republicans for their tactics, but is it their fault that Pelosi would rather deny District residents the vote than let them defend themselves? The underlying bill is, in any case, patently unconstitutional. This is not a close question, and congressmen have no excuse for punting the constitutional question to the courts. It took a constitutional amendment in the 1960s to give the District the ability to vote in presidential elections, and it will take another one to give them any additional voting privileges.

■ Six years ago, about 300,000 fugitive aliens, who had been ordered to leave the U.S., roamed the land. Following the 9/11 attacks, efforts to locate and deport these fugitives were beefed up and since 2003 over $200 million has been spent on an Absconder Apprehension Initiative. Results, according to a recent government report: There are now 600,000 fugitive

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The Week...

aliens at large. Part of the explanation lies with the fact that local police do not have access to information about the vast majority of the fugitives. The next time federal officials say that they mean to crack down on illegal immigration, remember that there is more to seriousness than spending money.

■ Debacles like that one make us less optimistic about the possibility of finding a compromise on immigration policy. We have said that proposals for a guest-worker program and for legalizing illegal aliens would be improved if the federal government certified that it had control of the borders before any such measures took effect. The latest amnesty proposals generally include such "triggers"—but they have been watered down to meaninglessness. To implement an amnesty under these proposals, the government would merely have to show that it had hired more agents, deployed more technologies, and so on. Even the most comprehensive such proposal, that of Georgia senator Johnny Isakson, would not require the government to certify that the number of illegal border crossings and the size of the illegal population here had dramatically fallen. It may be that the only workable compromise is to enact enforcement measures now and defer settlement of the guest-worker and amnesty issues until another day. Proposals for "triggers," meanwhile, should trigger our suspicion.

■ President Bush has said that he sees more support for his "comprehensive" immigration reform on Capitol Hill since last fall's elections. But his vision is at odds with the views of voters. Amnesty for illegal aliens remains as unpopular on the campaign trail now as it was last year. Sen. John McCain is reportedly backing away from lending his name to the latest amnesty plan Sen. Ted Kennedy is cooking up. But McCain has not really changed his mind: "We have to have a comprehensive approach to reform, which means a temporary-worker [program] as well as securing our borders, as well as addressing the 12 million people who are here illegally, in both a comprehensive and humane fashion," he explains. "Comprehensive" immigration plans earn that description by including both the border- and workplace-enforcement measures that the public wants and the amnesty that it doesn't. Enforcement is the spoonful of sugar to help the amnesty go down. It's a bad idea, no matter whose name is on it.

■ Katherine Babineaux Blanco announced that she would not run for reelection as governor of Louisiana. You would have had a better chance. Hurricane Katrina revealed Governor Blanco to be as feeble as she was incapable. The disaster was mismanaged at every level of government, from the local levy boards to the White House, with very few exceptions (such as the Coast Guard). But the worst failures were Mayor Ray Nagin and Governor Blanco. She bungled the reconstruction too, sitting on billions in federal aid. *Si monumentum requiris circumspice*.

■ Well, that didn't take long: Just a few months into their majority, Senate Democrats are already itching to raise taxes. President Bush's tax cuts are scheduled to expire in 2010. The Senate just passed a budget that extends the most popular of the tax cuts: notably the child credit and the tax-rate cut for low-income workers. But the budget also stipulated that if the other tax cuts are extended, too, they have to be balanced with tax increases or with cuts in entitlement programs. Since entitlements aren't going to be cut by the requisite $900 billion over four years, that's a recipe for a massive tax increase on dividends, capital gains, and high earners. If Democrats wanted to design a tax increase that did the most damage to economic growth for every dollar raised, they could hardly do better. This budget passed the Senate on a party-line vote, with only the Maine Republicans defecting to support it. President Bush may be down in the polls, but our guess is that the public will side with him if he stands up for taxpayers, as he should.

■ Al Gore warned a Senate panel that global warming constitutes a "planetary emergency." He called for a ban on incandescent light bulbs, an increase in fuel-economy standards for cars, new taxes on carbon-dioxide emissions, and a ban on new emissions. Gore's side of this debate has an intellectually complacent air of vindication about it. On two key questions—is the globe warming, and is mankind contributing to it?—it has carried the day. But it seems to think it is therefore vindicated on every other question. How catastrophic will the warming be? What should be done about it? On those questions Gore, with his scientifically ludicrous claims that sea levels will rise 20 feet, is entirely unpersuasive. For sense on climate policy, we should listen to cooler heads.

■ Once upon a time, conservatives pledged to abolish the Department of Education. Today, the department's headquarters are being named for Lyndon B. Johnson. If that's not a sign of our failure in this area—we don't know what is.

■ Gen. Peter Pace, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, talking to the editorial board of the *Chicago Tribune*, said he believed "homosexual acts . . . are immoral," and "we"—the armed forces—"should not condone immoral acts." General Pace's views on morality are widely shared; so the Democratic presidential candidates believe, as witness the frontrunners' slowness to contradict him: Hillary Clinton denying that homo-

Portents

The GOP is jittery.
Rudy, like Marley's ghost,
Clanks by with wives in tow. McCain's
Straight-talking bus is toast.
Romney's zig-zagging left the base
Engorging Dramamine.
Gonzales on that gurney looks—
Ask Specter—Paris-green.

—W. H. von Dreele

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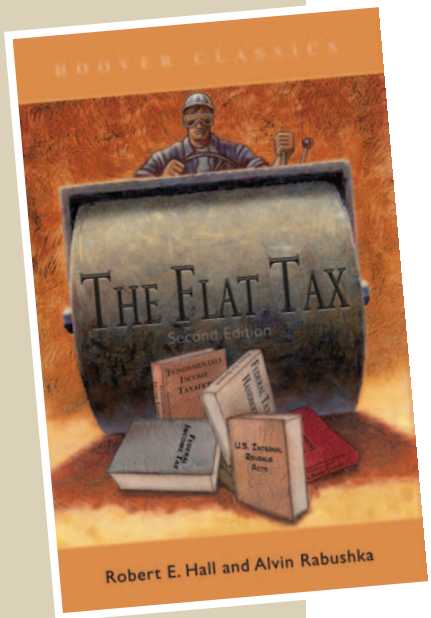

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THE WEEK...

sexuality is immoral only after prodding from gay supporters, and only using Republican senator John Warner as cover; Barack Obama sidestepping the question three times before saying that he did "not agree with General Pace." But what do General Pace's views have to do with military policy? History buffs like to read about tart-tongued military men, but historically they get in trouble (think of Douglas MacArthur and George S. Patton). The military asked for the "don't ask, don't tell" policy to maintain unit cohesion, which is also the reason for banning adultery. It is Congress's job to respond to public opinion on morality or the lack thereof. General Pace was right to climb down: "I should have focused more on my support of the [current] policy, and less on my personal moral views."

■ Three centuries after the English Civil War, T. S. Eliot wrote of John Milton and Charles I, Roundhead poet and beheaded king, that they "Accept the constitution of silence / And are folded in a single party." The healing process works so much more quickly in American journalism—for certain purposes. *Time* recently put Ronald Reagan (d. 2004) on its cover, dropping a photo-shopped tear over the disarray of today's conservative movement. Well, yes, we have our problems, as we freely admit. But spare us the faux commiseration from liberal outlets that hammered the living Reagan as an ideologue and a dunce. We're too busy trying to address our and the nation's problems to brood over the past, or *Time*'s newfound appreciation of our past.

■ For several years, the federal budget has included provisions ensuring that taxpayer funds will not be spent supporting abortion and related infringements of the sanctity of human life. We fund family planning overseas, for example, but will not give money to organizations that perform or promote abortions in recipient countries. Nor will the patent office create a property right in cloned human embryos. Federal Medicaid funds cannot be used for abortions (except in the rare cases where pregnancies result from rape or incest or threaten the mother's life). Congressional Democrats are itching to use taxpayer funding for the kind of social activism that the budget currently precludes. President Bush will surely veto any spending bill that indulges this impulse. For some reason, though, he has not yet announced his intentions. He may as well do so now, and reassure his allies.

■ The faculty senate of the University of Florida voted to deny Jeb Bush—who served as governor of Florida until January—an honorary degree. He is in good company. In 1986—its 350th-anniversary year—Harvard denied Reagan an honorary

The Postcard Solution

WHILE the debate over school vouchers continues to be intense, academics have increasingly produced a consensus in favor of another big educational reform. It is a tribute to how wide this consensus is that the best policy proposal has been put forward by scholars working under the aegis of former Clinton treasury secretary Robert Rubin's Hamilton Project. Their proposal is, indeed, one of the most laudable I have ever seen.

The federal government has spent billions and billions of dollars providing aid to students attending colleges and universities. But the evidence suggests that existing federal-aid programs are practically worthless.

Susan Dynarski and Judith Scott-Clayton of Harvard have made a decisive case that the main problem is complexity. In order to qualify for federal monies, students must fill out a federal-aid form that, with its 128 questions, is significantly more complex than a tax form. They often find out how much money they will get only after they have decided where to go. Thus the programs needlessly increase families' uncertainty and anxiety, and fail at their mission of promoting college attendance: Federal aid can't affect college-attendance decisions if it is doled out after the decisions are made.

Dynarski had earlier studied effective programs, such as one in Georgia. Drawing on that work, Dynarski and Scott-Clayton have developed a massive reform to which no rational being who supports equal opportunity can object. Echoing the cries of conservative tax reformers from bygone days, they would replace the current system with a simple postcard, which is reproduced below.

This postcard could be plastered on school bulletin boards, and would-be college students could inspect them, figure out how much federal aid they will eventually qualify for, and then adjust their college applications accordingly. The billions spent on student aid would indisputably have a bigger effect. The authors estimate that college attendance might increase as much as 7.4 percent among the grant-eligible population.

To be sure, some of that comes from increasing the level of federal aid, something that may be necessary to make such a massive reform politically viable. But that would be a small price to pay to fix the system. Congressional leaders of both parties should rush to adopt this reform before billions more dollars are wasted.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

Should this replace 128 questions?

How much federal aid can I get to help pay for college?

If your parents' adjusted gross income is . . .	then your annual grant is . . .
$0–$14,999	$4,050
$15,000–$19,999	$3,700
$20,000–$24,999	$3,300
$25,000–$29,999	$3,000
$30,000–$34,999	$2,400
$35,000–$39,999	$1,600
$40,000–$44,999	$800
$45,000–$49,999	$600
$50,000–$74,999	$450
$75,000–$99,999	$300

. . . PLUS $250 for each dependent child other than the student, up to an additional $1,000.

■ If you are legally independent from your parents, your aid will be based on your (and your spouse's) income.

■ Grants will be adjusted for attendance status. For example, if you attend half-time, your grant would be half the amount listed.

SOURCE: http://www1.hamiltonproject.org/views/papers/200702dynarski-scott-clayton.htm

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Signed, Sealed And Delicious.

Dear Priscilla,

I'm sorry you weren't there. As you know, I think of you as my only peer in the wine business, going back to when we were introduced to Father's cellar about fifty years ago.

We met with Ed at Paones and I was introduced to Richard Spencer – he is the principal entrepreneur in the Mariposa wine enterprise – and to Michael Leven, who is the managing partner. He has been in the wine business a long time and was for several years the winemaker for Kendall-Jackson's "Camelot" brand, which I remember enjoying with you a couple of times.

The Mariposa people are determined to make their wines blissful, and I think they have succeeded. The Monterey division has two or three Chardonnays and Pinot Noirs, all from Monterey County. They are really fine, as also their Carmichael 'Grigio e Bianco', and if my notes are accurate, 'Sa Vini' and 'Sur le Pont'. I have ordered some and will keep them for your birthday dinner, – they are hard to beat. There's also a Sauvignon Blanc under their Yosemite View label which is nice, very nice. And a knock-em dead Zinfandel, which you can have with the main course at your party, if you promise to behave.

Paone's was a perfect backdrop for our tasting party, and I diffidently told Richard Spencer that Paone confided that he had some bottles there priced at $500. Spencer promised to get Mariposa to compete with these.

Oh. There is also a war going on in Iraq, and our brother Jim's autobiography seems to be doing nicely.

XXBill

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THE WEEK...

degree. The previous year, Oxford had similarly snubbed Thatcher. Which parties had the better understanding of the great problems of the times? Harvard and Oxford or Reagan and Thatcher? The Gators better hope for good football and basketball, because their faculty senate stinks.

■ Iran isn't making the work of its appeasers very easy. If only it suspended uranium enrichment, the world's various acronymed bodies would probably toast the mullahs as "strategic partners" and suspend sanctions on their regime. Iran's rulers would still be free to fire up the centrifuges whenever they wished, but the diplomatic smart set would forget about this threat. Instead, Iran presses ahead with uranium enrichment and tells the U.N. to take a hike—a course that recently provoked a Security Council resolution imposing further sanctions (a ban on Iranian arms exports and a freeze on the assets of certain regime leaders and Iranian organizations). The new sanctions, though a marginal escalation of pressure, are unlikely to have much effect. Far better would be to sanction the country's gasoline imports (Iran is such an economic basketcase that it cannot refine its own oil). Iran has already retaliated by further reducing its cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency. The mullahs think the U.N. is bluffing. Alas, they are probably right.

■ The European Union is celebrating its 50th anniversary, and a dubious celebration it is. The milestone is an occasion for its boosters to say, again, that it has kept the peace in Europe for five decades: a claim that has everything going for it but chronology. Peace in Europe made the EU possible, not the other way around. But a mythologically glorious past beats the EU's resentful present. European populations continue to balk at the ever-tighter integration that their leaders have in mind. Hence the project has stalled. A good thing, too. It has become clearer and clearer that further integration would be inimical to American interests: A Euro-wide foreign policy would surely have prevented British participation in the Iraq War, for example. Many Europeans—especially those best disposed to us—oppose it. Which makes it all the odder that American policy still favors continued integration. Some clear-eyed Republican presidential candidate should announce a change of course; it will cost him support only at the State Department.

■ Every nation has its historic grievances. The one that rankles most bitterly for citizens of landlocked Bolivia is the loss of Litoral, their nation's coastal province, to Chile in the Saltpeter War of 1879–84. Remembrance of that loss has become a national obsession. Radical president Evo Morales appears at public events flanked by sailors in dress whites, and gives news conferences in front of an antique map showing Bolivia with its coastline intact. March 23 is observed as Day of the Sea, and the Miss Bolivia beauty pageant includes a contestant, *Señorita Litoral*, from the lost province. Ceremonial duties aside, the Bolivian navy has little actually to do but patrol the nation's rivers and chase drug runners around Lake Titicaca. Under these circumstances, one can imagine the joy with which Bolivians greeted the spectacle of their sailors responding to a national emergency. Catastrophic floods have turned much of the country's eastern plains into a muddy inland sea. The Bolivian navy has set sail fearlessly on these waters, rescuing villagers and their livestock. All right, it's not exactly Nelson at Trafalgar, but when you've been pining after naval glory for 120 years, you'll take what you can get.

■ Some 30 Holocaust deniers recently had a jamboree in Tehran. Their chief, David Irving—the only denier anyone has heard of—couldn't attend because he was imprisoned in Austria, where Holocaust denial is a crime. Released on probation, he went to Auschwitz, where he told interviewers that mass gassings never occurred there. Poland also prosecutes Holocaust deniers. Soon there may be no alternative for Irving but a permanent move to Tehran.

■ Addressing an audience of local notables in San Francisco the other day, Ted Turner took a question about how to win China's cooperation in reducing greenhouse gases. Replied the media mogul: "The Chinese are very smart. Just think: Have you ever met a dumb Chinaman?" Pursuing his theme, the broadcasting baron then said: "Very seldom do you see Chinese restaurants close. I'm in the restaurant business, and it's very tough. They work very hard." Outrage naturally followed. How dare a public figure insult the Chinese by calling them clever and industrious? Where will this end? Next thing you know we'll have presidential aspirants calumniating each other as "clean" or "articulate." Worst of all was the word "Chinaman"—nowadays, for reasons you need a Ph.D. in Diversity Awareness to understand, a term of the vilest abuse, uttered only when preparing to kick a Person of Sinicity off the sidewalk. Next day Turner issued the routine groveling apology to "the Asian Pacific American" community; though why an American of Pakistani, Mongolian, or Samoan ancestry should have taken offense at Turner's words is unclear to us.

WARNER BROS.

■ *300*, a movie about the battle of Thermopylae, grossed almost $71 million on its first weekend, not bad for a lowish-budget flick starring no one in particular. Many reviewers noted its simplifications and inaccuracies, but they were also honest enough to avow their real objection, which is that *300* glorifies battle in a good cause. The movie is cartoonish—not surprisingly, since it was based on a graphic novel. More cartoonish than *Triumph of the Will*, a celebration of a horrendous cause that cineastes manage to love? These days big-deal talent grapples with serious themes in serious ways only when the subject is hobbits. For human beings, we're left with *Syriana* on one hand—and comic books and tyros on the other.

■ Emmett Till, 14 years old and black, was murdered in the Mississippi Delta town of Money 52 years ago for whistling his appreciation of a pretty white woman. The outrage—not just the murder, but the speedy acquittal at trial, by a jury of twelve white men, of the obviously guilty murderers—helped ignite

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the civil-rights movement. You would think that the Emmett Till story would be just the kind of thing to teach to American kids during Black History Month. A Los Angeles charter-school teacher named Marisol Alba thought so, and got her students to work up a presentation on the Emmett Till case. The administrators at the school quashed her presentation and reprimanded her. When she protested, they fired her, along with a colleague who had voiced support. Emmett Till's wolf whistle, you see, betrayed him as a sexual harasser. We can't celebrate *that*, can we? One parent who complained to the school about the firing of Ms. Alba said that the school principal used the term "rude" to describe Emmett Till's actions. That, of course, was also the opinion of the lad's murderers. Like the worm Ouroboros, political correctness consumes its own tail.

■ When writer and journalist Cathy Seipp died, at the age of 49, her friends and fans were left to fend for themselves. Cathy—a ferociously funny, merciless, and careful observer of the world around her—wasn't around to tell them what she thought about this sad development. For almost five years, she had done quiet battle with lung cancer, holding it off long enough to see her only daughter graduate from high school and enter college, and long enough to become a fixture on the Los Angeles journalism scene, scandalizing the (mostly) lefty media community with her unapologetic and idiosyncratic brand of conservatism. She came to her conservative politics later in life, after a series of deeply irritating—and hilarious—encounters with the Los Angeles public-school system, and they gave her writing bite and courage and delightful bad temper. It is not enough to say that she had devoted fans across the spectrum. It is not enough to say that she will be missed. The truth is simpler, and harder to bear: We have been robbed, all of us, of a bracing, honest, dazzling voice. R.I.P.

AT WAR

Keep Surging

WHEN the Democrats took over Congress, the conventional wisdom was that they would never lurch so far left as to try to cut off funding for the Iraq War. That conventional wisdom lasted all of three months: The Democrats are now on the verge of doing exactly that.

House Democrats passed restrictions on a $124 billion supplemental bill that would establish political benchmarks for the Iraqi government to meet by October. If they weren't met, American combat troops would be withdrawn by April 2008. Even if the Iraqis met the benchmarks, combat troops would have to begin withdrawing by March 2008 and finish within 180 days. Senate Democrats passed their own version of the deadline. Bush is promising a veto, which could lead to a nasty showdown. (If the bill isn't signed into law, our troops will at some point start to run out of funds.)

It is no secret that, four years on, the Iraq War has been a disappointment, tottering on the brink of disaster. Iraq has experienced a humanitarian catastrophe over the last few years. The number of civilian deaths is unclear, but nearly 2 million people have fled the country. Important indicators of economic progress, such as electricity and oil production, have been flat since the end of the invasion. Once-bustling neighborhoods in Baghdad have been emptied out by the sectarian war. This is obviously not the vision President Bush and supporters of the war—including NR—held out prior to its launching, and accounts for the understandably sagging public support for the war here at home.

Democrats look at those polls and feel empowered to follow their worst instincts. Their initiative comes, tragically enough, just as the administration has embarked on a promising new strategy: the "surge." Perversely enough, Democrats hope to force the administration back into the same failing strategy it came belatedly to reject late last year. That was the strategy, crafted by Donald Rumsfeld and Gen. George Casey, of minimizing the American military commitment in the hope that it would force the Iraqis to "pull up their socks." What happened instead was that the security situation continued to spin out of control and the Iraqi government, with no reliable security forces of its own, came increasingly to rely on murderous Shiite militias.

The beginning of the surge has been accompanied by political progress in Iraq. The surge has strengthened the government and allowed it to take tentative steps away from sectarian extremism. An oil-revenue-sharing law has passed the Iraqi cabinet, and a revision of the de-Baathification law is in the works. The interior ministry, which was infested with Shiite radicals loyal to thug-cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, has been cleaned out. A top Sadrist official in the health ministry has been removed. The Shiite prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, has traveled to Ramadi to reach out to Sunnis there.

When Bush first proposed the surge, critics argued that the Shiite militias had become the chief driver of sectarian violence and were skeptical we would be able to suppress them. But Sadr has been in hiding, and may have fled to Iran. Americans have been sweeping his stronghold of Sadr City, and the mayor there has been cooperating with us. According to Gen. David Petraeus, 700 members of Sadr's militia have been detained. There are signs that the militia is beginning to splinter and run out of Sadr's control. Sectarian killings have been reduced significantly in Baghdad.

There are still horrific bombing attacks carried out daily in Baghdad and elsewhere by Sunni terrorists determined to kill anyone—Shiite or Sunni—who cooperates with the government. Many of these acts are perpetrated by al-Qaeda in Iraq, which Democrats still profess a theoretical interest in fighting. Their legislation talks of sanctioning "targeted" counterterrorism operations in Iraq, which are not possible against a complex insurgency operating in an urban environment.

To defeat al-Qaeda in Iraq, we will have to secure the population, so that people feel safe enough to turn against the savages in their midst. And we will have to foster a central government that is decent and effective enough to peel away Sunni fence-sitters from the insurgents. No one has proposed any plausible way to do this other than the "surge," coupled

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75	7.1%
78	7.6%
81	8.3%
84	9.2%
86	9.9%
89	11.0%
90+	11.3%

Sample two-life rates	
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63/70	5.7%
73/77	6.3%
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with the classic counterinsurgency "clear and hold" tactics that we have been applying recently.

Democrats say their mandated drawdown will force Iraqis to solve their sectarian war on their own. This is nonsense. It is a prescription for defeat, at the very moment we have begun a course that might avoid it. Bush is rightly vowing to veto the legislation, and one hopes the names of its sponsors will someday live in infamy.

POLITICS

Pride and Privilege

THE administration has gotten itself into a fine mess over the firing of eight U.S. attorneys. Those attorneys serve at will, so their firings cannot have been illegal. But if any of them were fired because their prosecutorial judgment conflicted with the administration's political interests, exposure of that motive would rightly embarrass it. The administration would have been shown to have violated a norm that serves important public interests, such as ensuring widespread respect for the rule of law.

We are a long way from finding out that any of the firings were done for improper reasons. (Sen. Dick Durbin's speculation that the attorneys who were not fired had kept their jobs by compromising their prosecutions was especially outrageous.) But neither can we rule out the possibility that some firings were inappropriate. On the evidence so far, congressional Democrats are overhyping this scandal—which may not be a scandal at all. But they are within their rights to investigate.

Since their objection to the administration concerns its official actions, however, executive privilege applies. Congress has wide latitude in conducting oversight of the Justice Department, which it created, and the top officials of which are appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate. But the presidency has constitutional standing against the Congress. Any White House has to be able to conduct internal deliberations free from the prying eyes of other branches of the government. Moreover, the Democrats' demand that White House officials testify under oath, in public, with transcripts made available, seems like a prelude to catching tiny inconsistencies and blowing them up into perjury charges. The administration should insist that Democrats get sworn testimony from top Justice Department officials before they even consider going up the food chain.

Speculation about this conflict's course has centered on the attorney general, Alberto Gonzales. While we defended him from some of the outlandish charges made during his confirmation hearings, we have never seen evidence that he has a fine legal mind, good judgment, or managerial ability. Nor has his conduct at any stage of this controversy gained our confidence.

His claim not to have been involved in the firings suggests that he was either lying or dangerously detached from the operations of his own department. His deputy, Paul McNulty, insulted the fired prosecutors by claiming that they had been asked to resign for "performance-related" issues. But many of them received good reviews, and none of them said they were told about any disappointment with their performance. If Justice wanted to clear them out to make way for new blood, or to find attorneys who shared their prosecutorial priorities, that would have been perfectly legitimate. By saying what he did, McNulty guaranteed that the fired attorneys would lash out in the press. Gonzales's latest tactic has been to concede that improper motives may have played a role in the firings, but to blame his underlings for any misconduct and to pledge to get to the bottom of it.

What little credibility Gonzales had is gone. All that now keeps him in office, save the friendship of the president, is the conviction of many Republicans that removing him would embolden the Democrats. It is an overblown fear. The Democrats will pursue scandals, real or invented, whether or not Gonzales stays. But they have an especially inviting target in Gonzales. He cannot defend the administration and its policies even when they deserve defense. Justice needs a fresh start.

notes & asides

■ *From a spy in London, we have a copy of a toast at an anniversary dinner. The speaker is Daniel Johnson, the eldest son of Paul and Marigold Johnson, whose 50th wedding anniversary was being celebrated. Paul Johnson, many of whose essays we are proud to have published in* NATIONAL REVIEW, *is routinely acknowedged here, by a shrewd and learned son, as the "preeminent English man of letters of his generation." And Marigold Johnson is uniquely endowed to have raised such a son, by such a father. The editors of* NATIONAL REVIEW *extend their congratulations to an eminent family.*

—WFB

Ladies and gentlemen:

A few weeks ago, with her usual impeccable timing, my mother rang up just as we sat down for dinner. The good news, she told me, was that they had decided there would be only one speech at this party. The bad news was that I was to make it. Why? "Because you are the only one of the children who was, as it were, present." Well, she should know. The wedding was in March 1957. Six months later, I was born—not, as Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote to Bernard Berenson at the time, in a Scottish recusant castle but at home in their flat in Lennox Gardens. My wife tells me I've been turning up to social occasions too early ever since.

My imminent arrival apart, what can my mother have been thinking of, marrying this wild young left-wing journalist, recently returned from adventures in Paris about which he later wrote a racy novel? After all, Marigold was the daughter of an eminent physician who was consulted by three prime ministers. She had inherited her father's brains and

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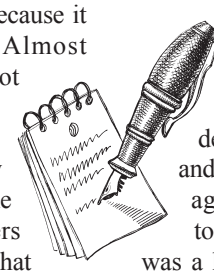
her actress mother's beauty, becoming head girl at Benenden and narrowly missing a First in English at Oxford, before commencing a promising career in publishing. Some of her friends must have wondered what she saw in the man to whom even then so many people objected. Suddenly she found herself having to put up Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament marchers on her sofas, put up with journalists and politicians in her kitchen—some of them even more irascible and intemperate than her husband—and occasionally entertain such terrifying guests as Jimmy Goldsmith or Rupert Murdoch. All this while bringing up four children with so little money that when in 1960 they moved to Iver, they had no car, no central heating, and no household appliances, and family holidays were taken in Blackpool or Bognor.

But put up with all this she did, and much more besides. In fact, our mother not only married a troublemaker but has spent her whole life looking for trouble. Take religion. Marigold gave up her deeply held Anglican faith to become a Roman Catholic, which instantly placed her beyond the pale for much of English society at the time. Leonard Woolf thought my father's Catholicism automatically excluded him from consideration as editor of the *New Statesman*, but that did not stop him getting the job. My mother, on the other hand, had to confront prejudice of a much subtler kind, at every level. Yet she managed to adapt to and raise her children in her new faith, despite my father's tendency in those early days to demonstrate his independence of thought by, for example, insisting that his third son be baptized Oliver—not after the Blessed Oliver Plunkett, but, to the dismay of Father Crawford, our parish priest, after Oliver Cromwell. No wonder my mother did the church flowers for twenty years.

Within six years of their wedding day, Marigold found herself with four extremely demanding children and one dog, not to mention a husband who expected her to be his spellchecker, amanuensis, domestic goddess, social secretary, and chauffeuse. It was our good fortune that she decided to put her own career on hold until we were all at school. In later years she held down several highly demanding jobs with—as I think her sometime employers here present will testify—unqualified success. This wasn't easy, caught as she was between bosses as eccentric as Frank Longford, Frank Field, and Tony Benn, and a husband who managed in the course of making himself the preeminent English man of letters of his generation to make an enemy of just about every other English man of letters alive—present company excepted—and a few dead ones for good measure. In October 1975 she stood for Parliament in the Labour interest at Beaconsfield, gaining a much better result than the candidate two elections later, in 1983, the then unknown Tony Blair. But within a couple of years, my father had left the Labour party amid ripples of publicity that reached as far as Israel, where I was then working on a kibbutz. So that was the end of Marigold's political career.

If I haven't said much in praise of my father yet, that is in part because it almost seems superfluous. Almost but—don't worry, Daddy—not quite. You have not been the easiest of fathers, but you have been the best. Everybody here—and among you are some of the most productive writers alive—is in awe of a creativity that is titanic, volcanic, cosmic in scope. On my wall at home is an old print of the French Encyclopedists. The original *Encyclopédie* ran to 17 volumes of text, some 20 million words, and required the combined efforts over twenty years of all the greatest savants in France: Voltaire, Rousseau, d'Alembert, Diderot, Condillac, d'Holbach, and so on. Yet in the breadth and depth of his erudition, in the wit and wisdom of his judgment, in quantity and quality, my father's oeuvre far exceeds the *Encyclopédie.* He has been a one-man civilization. Unlike the Encyclopedists, moreover, who sought to *écraser* Judeo-Christian morality and prepared the ground for the French Revolution, my father has usually been right. If Freud was, as Auden said, "a whole climate of opinion," Paul Johnson has been the climatologist of opinion. Ahead of his time, he diagnosed all the pathologies of the 20th century and delved into history to find the evidence. But along with an irresistible moral imperative, he has been driven by another equally powerful aim: to delight, infuriate, and entertain. When he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, America's highest civilian honor, President Bush joked that he had read all of Daddy's books. Remember, too, that the greater part of his output has never been collected in book form—not yet. I daresay that, apart from the author himself, only one person on earth has read every one of the tens of millions of words that he has written—and she has corrected a large percentage of them.



None of these words, indeed, would have been written without a wife who was something even rarer than a great man of letters—a saint. It is perhaps a failing of the Church that until the last Pope it had never adequately recognized the sanctity of married women. The Virgin Mary was the exception that proves the rule—she was, after all, immaculate. But there are countless women who, though not immaculate, are invisible saints, and Marigold is surely one of them. My father often describes himself as a sinner—and which of us would dare to disagree with him? When it came to sanctity, his mother—Nana—was a hard act to follow, so he was inordinately fortunate to find a wife who could correct more than just his spelling. Actually, I doubt if it was mere good fortune. They are still incapable of driving a single mile together without my father invoking the Almighty in a manner that proves yet again just how providential their marriage was and, half a century on, still is.

One of the many friends who could not be here wrote a letter from which I should like to quote: "The point about marriage is not that it can ever be without its 'ups and downs,' but that the commitment of two people to each other and their love for each other sees them through it all. You are two of the kindest and most generous people I have met. You have raised a wonderful and talented family. You can be very proud, and I am proud to know you. God bless you both." Let us drink a toast to Paul and Marigold, to their children and grandchildren, their wider family and friends, and to this exceptionally golden anniversary.

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■ THE NATION ■

Out Like a Lam

The case of one U.S. attorney

BYRON YORK

In 2001, for a brand-new Bush administration trying to move fast on many fronts, finding a new United States attorney for the Southern District of California wasn't easy. Actually, finding any U.S. attorneys for the state of California wasn't easy. Although they are officially nominated by the president, U.S. attorneys in each federal district—California is divided into four such districts—are traditionally chosen by the senior official of the president's party in the state. Often that is a senator, but if there is no senator of the president's party the responsibility passes to the governor. And if there is no governor of the president's party—well, the White House tries to figure out another way.

That was the problem facing George W. Bush in California, with Democratic senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, and Democratic governor Gray Davis. The president's solution was to rely on a selection committee headed by a man named Gerald Parsky, a Los Angeles investment banker who ran the Bush campaign in California and who also helped in the search for nominees to lower-court federal judgeships.

It was a tough job; the position of U.S. attorney for the Southern District had been wracked by politics in the previous decade. In 1993, Bill Clinton replaced the Republican U.S. attorney, a career prosecutor and veteran of 20 years in the Justice Department, with Alan Bersin, a law professor who had no prosecutorial experience but had been a classmate of Clinton's at Yale and head of the Clinton campaign in San Diego. In March 1998, Bersin resigned to become head of the San Diego school system.

The man who was thought to be the hands-down choice to replace Bersin was prosecutor Charles LaBella, but LaBella ruined his chances when he was chosen to lead the Justice Department's investigation into the 1996 campaign-finance scandal. Frustrated with the restrictions put on his investigation by then–attorney general Janet Reno, LaBella publicly called for an independent counsel—an act that deeply angered the Clinton White House. When the time came to pick a new U.S. attorney, LaBella was passed over. An interim prosecutor, never confirmed by the Senate, took the job.

When George W. took office, several candidates, including LaBella and San Diego Superior Court judge Carol Lam, were in the running for the job. But months passed, and nothing happened. The word in Bush circles was that "diversity" concerns and political considerations were holding things up. "They had to have Asian-American women," recalls one lawyer who was involved in the process. Lam fit that bill, but she was also an independent—not a Republican. In the end, though, she got the job; the Bush administration formally nominated her in August 2002, and she was confirmed by the Senate in November. It had taken the president more than a year and a half to place a U.S. attorney in San Diego.

So a troubled selection process ended. But a troubled tenure began, a tenure that would end in December 2006, when Lam became one of the eight U.S. attorneys fired by President Bush in a move that set off the latest scandal roiling Washington.

The president's Democratic critics cite Lam's firing as evidence that the Bush White House sacked the U.S. attorneys as part of an effort to stop criminal investigations targeting Republicans. Lam successfully prosecuted former congressman Randy "Duke" Cunningham for bribery; the accusation is that the White House intervened to stop her from doing more. "The most notorious [case] is the Southern District of California, San Diego," said New York Democratic senator Charles Schumer on *Meet the Press* in mid-March. "Ms. Lam, the U.S. attorney, had already brought about the conviction of Duke Cunningham. It came out in the newspapers that she was continuing to pursue that investigation, and it might lead to others—legislative and others—and in the middle of this investigation she was fired."

Other Democrats echoed the same accusation. But a look at the record that is available in thousands of internal Justice Department e-mails released recently by the administration suggests that complaints about Lam's performance had nothing to do with the Cunningham case, and indeed started long before the Cunningham case began in June 2005.

CAROL LAM: ROBERT BENSON/SIPA

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In December 2003, the *Press-Enterprise* of Riverside, Calif., published an article reporting that smugglers caught bringing illegal aliens into the United States were rarely prosecuted. A month later, the paper published a follow-up story detailing how an alien smuggler named Antonio Amparo-Lopez had been arrested at a border checkpoint but later let go. The accounts disturbed Republican congressman Darrell Issa, who represents the area. On February 2, 2004—this was 15 months before the Cunningham case began—he wrote a letter asking Lam for more information on the Amparo-Lopez matter.

Lam told Issa to ask the Justice Department in Washington; three months after sending his original inquiry, Issa got a brief letter from assistant attorney general William Moschella declining to discuss the case. Unsatisfied, Issa wrote to attorney general John Ashcroft in July. (This was still a year before the Cunningham case broke.) "It is unfortunate and unacceptable that anyone in the Department of Justice would deem alien smuggling, on any level by any person, too low of a priority to warrant prosecution in a timely fashion," Issa wrote.

This time, it took the Justice Department six months to respond, and even then Moschella defended the department's performance and offered no solutions. Issa grew more frustrated. "We were stumped in terms of getting information to explain the scope of the problem," says Frederick Hill, a spokesman for the congressman. "We put the word out on the street that we were interested in getting more information about this." Issa was hoping for a tip—perhaps from someone inside a law-enforcement organization—to give him the information he had been seeking.

Even though officials were virtually ignoring Issa, it appears his complaints were being discussed inside the Justice Department. On March 2, 2005—still a few months before the Duke Cunningham case broke—as the administration considered whether to get rid of any or all of the 93 U.S. attorneys in the country, Kyle Sampson, then chief of staff to attorney general Alberto Gonzales, placed Lam's name on a small list of those to be replaced. Sampson put Lam in the category of "weak U.S. attorneys who have been ineffectual managers and prosecutors; chafed against administration initiatives, etc."

Of course, no one told Issa; after more than a year of complaining, it appeared he had gotten nowhere. On October 15, 2005, he tried again, writing a letter to Lam about another notorious alien smuggler who had been caught and not charged. "Your office has established an appalling record of refusal to prosecute even the worst criminal alien offenders," Issa wrote. A week later, Issa and his fellow California Republicans wrote to Gonzales, citing concerns about Lam's "lax prosecutorial standard."

Finally, amid all his letter-writing, Issa got the tip he had been hoping for. A source gave his office a stack of documents containing a report on cases logged by border stations in Lam's district. There was case after case of smugglers who were caught but never prosecuted. Issa was appalled.

He gave the documents to the Associated Press, which reported that "the vast majority of people caught smuggling immigrants across the border near San Diego are never prosecuted for the offense." Then the story was picked up by CNN's Lou Dobbs. And that got the Justice Department to move.

As political pressure mounted, Justice officials did a statistical study of Lam's operation. The numbers showed that immigration prosecutions in the San Diego district had gone down since 2004, even as they rose in other U.S.-attorney districts on the Mexican border. "When you compare San Diego's performance using 111 assistant U.S. attorneys and New Mexico, with 59 assistant U.S. attorneys but still generating more cases than San Diego, it seems that San Diego should be doing much more," said an internal e-mail from the office of deputy attorney general Paul McNulty.

Finally, more than two years after Issa's first complaints, unhappiness with Lam reached a critical point inside the department. There were concerns beyond the issue of immigration—Lam's performance on the enforcement of gun laws was also a problem—and by 2006 the Justice Department began making preparations to replace her when her term expired in November of that year. (Most U.S. attorneys are allowed to stay in office after that expiration.) In December, the department told Lam she was out. And that was it, at least as far as we know now.

The one factor that does not appear in the documents is the Duke Cunningham case, which Democrats charged was the reason Lam was fired. The only connection specifically alleged so far is a circumstantial one: In May 2006, Sampson wrote a memo urging action on the Lam matter the day after Lam informed the department she was pursuing an investigation that might target Republicans. Some Democrats have pointed to the memo as if it were a smoking gun, but their accusation ignores documents that show department officials intended to fire Lam well before May 2006.

In the end, the evidence shows a Justice Department that was sluggish, insular, and arrogant in its handling of the U.S.-attorneys matter. Officials had no interest in hearing from critics, even those from the president's own party, and they were not inclined to act until pressure from the outside forced them to. All that is bad, and those involved deserve criticism. But they didn't fire Carol Lam to stop a criminal investigation. **NR**

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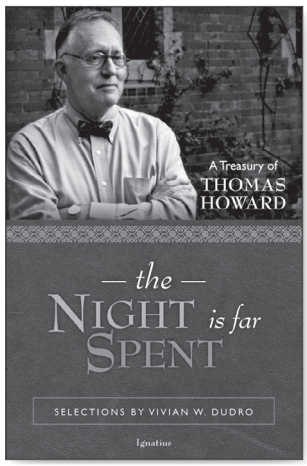

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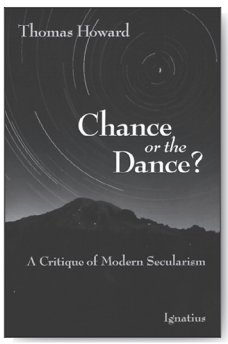

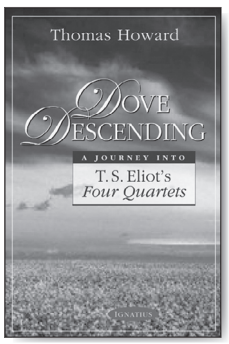

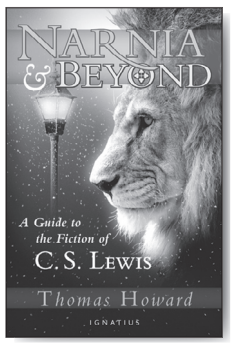

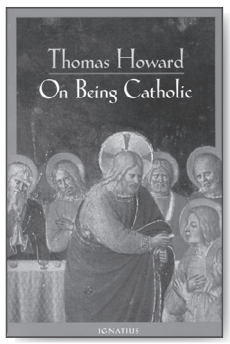

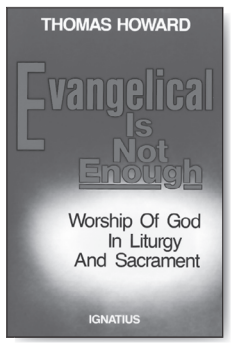

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■ THE NATION II

Reasons for Being

Elizabeth Edwards, Tony Snow, and us

NOEMIE EMERY

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, was the worst day to date in American history; and each party has suffered election nights that sent its heart through the floorboards. But few days have been sadder in Washington than March 22, when it was announced that Elizabeth Edwards had a recurrence of cancer—followed, a day later, by the fear that Tony Snow might be sharing her fate. The fact that these are attractive, gifted people, still young in their fifties (and every day, the fifties appear to be younger and younger), who have three children apiece, some of them not out of grade school, made this still more heart-wrenching. But if this appeared, and was, tragic, the announcement that the Edwardses would go on campaigning struck for some a false note. "The 'back to the campaign' tone seems a little bit jarring," wrote NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE's Jim Geraghty. Some people wrote about "misplaced priorities." Jay Carney in *Time* found the statement "discomfiting," and added that "the words . . . were a shock." Political pros struggled to balance the attention and sympathy gained against the doubts about the campaign's viability. Backers, donors, and other political types will make their own judgments, and for Democrats the Edwards campaign is a huge complication. But for the Edwardses, there is nothing complicated at all about their decision. From their point of view, it is a sound judgment. In fact, it is just what they need.

Right now, they need things in their lives that are not about illness; and they desperately need their real life. That their "real life" is and has been for some years campaigning for president, a life that is uncommonly exhausting and stressful, is a complication, but not the real point. If the Edwardses identify themselves as political people, and there is every sign that they do, then leaving the campaign would strip them of one of their principal reasons for being, just at the moment they need it the most. They don't need to narrow their world to the hospital vista, their days to the round of visits to doctors, and themselves to the cramped roles of victims and patients. They need their routine, they need the demand and distraction of constant activity, they need the support of the people around them, and, at a time when they feel the most powerless, they need the sense of being in control and

Elizabeth Edwards

effective that comes from making decisions (in this case, about politics) whose results they can see in the world. They are right to insist that to give up their professional lives at this point would be to surrender something of great importance, and give illness a triumph it hasn't yet earned. Someday the illness may exact this surrender, but that day hasn't arrived yet. And until it does come, they should carry on.

There is another reason they should go on fighting. Man is a warrior, who is also a dreamer, and he has a need sometimes to die for his dreams. What reconciles us to death is the realization that things that we care for will go on without us, and that we will have had some part in their ongoing influence. This is one of the reasons that people make war, and one reason some deaths have always been seen as having been "better" than others.

It is better to die on Omaha Beach than in an accident, better to die at Little Round Top than in a field hospital of a wasting disease; better to die, as we must, for a cause or a reason, than to die for nothing at all. Jackie Kennedy was reported to have been made even unhappier when told that her husband had been killed by your run-of-the-mill type of loser and nutcase, and not by someone who opposed desegregation. She wished she could have made some more sense of the murder. She had wished he had died for a tangible reason. She had wished he had died for a cause.

Some years ago, I had a medical scare that for a week or so appeared very serious, and, as I pondered my possibly imminent ending, I thought that I needed a Dangerous Mission to do. As I had never been trained as a Navy Seal, much less as an assassin, I was unsure of what I could do, or whom I could approach with this strange application, but I was sure there was something that needed some doing, by someone with nothing to lose. My reasons for this intention were two: First, if I was going to go I wanted to go fast and before the worst happened; and second, I wanted to go "making a difference," as the cliché has it, in the spirit of the late Queen Mother Elizabeth, who took target practice on the grounds of Buckingham Palace in 1940 when invasion seemed imminent, just in case worst came to worst.

Believe it or not, I was still mulling this over when a biopsy gave me back my old viability ("You're the type that could live to 100," my doctor told me), and so the world lost an assassin, and retained a pundit, if the two words don't mean the same thing. But the first direct confrontation with one's own mortality is like hitting a brick wall or barricade: One never forgets it, nor one's own reactions. What gives life its value is being willing to lose it. We don't want to die feeling our own little lives are the be-all and end-all. We want to be part of things larger and greater. We want to die—and to live—for a reason. We want to live and to die for a cause.

And here is something else about politicians: They are competitive creatures, like professional athletes, and most really

GABRIEL BOUYS/AFP

Noemie Emery, a contributing editor to *The Weekly Standard*, is the author of *Great Expectations: The Troubled Lives of Political Families*.

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believe what they say. They truly believe that whatever they're backing—arms control, or an arms buildup; more or less taxes; social spending or supply-side economics—will make the world safer and life better for millions and millions of people. That's why they are willing to wade into battle, in front-line positions that attract opposition, like running for president, which draws abuse and attacks from rivals both inside and outside one's own party; or standing up at a podium in the West Wing of the White House in front of a contentious and clamoring press. They do this because it is their cause, and their mission, and their way of fighting. They do this in spite of the fact that their days could be numbered, or perhaps because they know that their days could be numbered, and they want those days to have utmost effect. It's their Omaha Beach and their Little Round Top, their own way of living, and dying, in battle.

Bless Tony Snow and Elizabeth Edwards, and may they keep swinging their swords. **NR**

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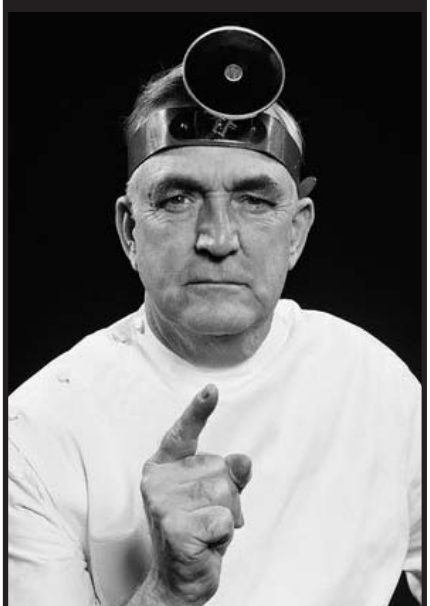

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■ **THE LAW**

'Thanks a Lot'

Free speech and high schools

ROBERT H. BORK

Once more the lunacies of America's rights-crazed culture are on display in our highest court—disguised, of course, as a serious civil-liberties issue. A high school in Juneau, Alaska, released students from class to watch the 2002 Olympic Torch Relay. As the torch runner passed, Joseph Frederick, a senior and apparently an apprentice wisenheimer, attempted, along with some friends, to attract television cameras by unfurling a 14-foot banner with the words "BONG HITS 4 JESUS." Deborah Morse, the school principal, took the banner away and awarded Frederick a ten-day suspension.

Inevitably, he sued, alleging a violation of his First Amendment right to freedom of speech. The school board upheld Morse, as did a federal district court, but a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed. The nine justices of the Supreme Court then accepted the case for review under its official title of *Morse* v. *Frederick*, though it will undoubtedly go down in history as "the great bong case."

There is a certain madcap disproportionality in all this. An insignificant five-year-old fracas has now engrossed the time and energy of 13 federal judges as well as the principal and the school board. It is a truism that we live in a culture riddled and fragmented by ever-proliferating rights, but that this minor instance of school discipline should be treated as a crucial civil-rights issue suggests that we have lost our balance and even our sense of humor. Deploying the federal judicial system in full regalia for the Morse–Frederick squabble is like hunting field mice with an elephant gun. It would be merely laughable if it were not possible that basic principles of the First Amendment will be put in play and further deformed.

Mr. Bork is a distinguished fellow of the Hudson Institute.

There is little consensus about the proper result in this case. Liberals and those hybrids known as libertarians generally favor the further expansion of the category of protected utterances. Conservatives can be found on both sides. My own view is that Frederick's complaint should have been dismissed out of hand. The speech clause took a wrong turn some time back, and, in cases like this, it very likely does more harm than good to both law and education.

The Ninth Circuit panel saw the issue as "whether a school may, in the absence of concern about disruption of educational activities, punish and censor non-disruptive, off-campus speech by students during school-authorized activities because the speech promotes a social message contrary to the one favored by the school. The answer under controlling, long-existing precedent is plainly 'No.'" The issue, as so framed, is a bit peculiar. Joseph Frederick may have been off campus in some sense, but the court of appeals itself said the school could have supervised the students more closely had it chosen to: "Frederick was a student, and school was in session." But it is not my purpose to quibble about such oddities.

The court of appeals thought this case was controlled by the precedent of *Tinker* v. *Des Moines Independent Community School District* (1969), which held that high-school students protesting the war in Vietnam had a First Amendment right to wear black armbands in school. The Court said that "the prohibition of expression of one particular opinion, at least without evidence that it is necessary to avoid material and substantial interference with schoolwork or discipline, is not constitutionally permissible." But in order to reach the conclusion that *Tinker* was dispositive, the Ninth Circuit judges had to distinguish it from *Bethel School District No. 403* v. *Fraser* (1986), in which the Supreme Court held that a high-school student did not have a First Amendment right to give a sexually suggestive speech in a school assembly. The panel said, "The phrase 'Bong Hits 4 Jesus' may be funny, stupid, or insulting, depending on one's point of view, but it is not 'plainly offensive' in the way sexual innuendo is."

This is the first and the less important flaw of current doctrine. How can three judges know that no significant number of students or teachers at the Juneau high school find the reference to Jesus and mar-

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ijuana "plainly offensive"? For that matter, how can any court know whether black armbands worn to school to protest a war in which the United States is engaged are less offensive than sexual innuendo? In all likelihood, what a particular group actually finds offensive will be less important than what a few judges think people should or should not find offensive.

It should be unacceptable that judges who have inadequate knowledge of what took place some years ago issue rulings and then depart the scene, leaving others to bear the burden of the long-term outcomes. Justice Hugo Black's dissent in *Tinker* looks better and better. Black, a fierce advocate of free speech and expansive First Amendment protections, nevertheless wrote with considerable indignation that the Court had taken from educational officials "the power to control pupils." He rejected the notion that teachers and students can use schools as platforms for speech. In my view, what has gone wrong in *Tinker*, in much of free-speech jurisprudence, and now in *Morse* began, primarily in the 1920s, with the storied but overvalued dissents of Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. and Louis Brandeis.

Holmes and Brandeis held that, in assessing the dangers of speech advocating violence and lawbreaking, judges had to estimate the danger posed by each instance of such speech. Thus, when a radical called for the violent overthrow of the government, the judge had to ask what danger that specific speech or pamphlet posed and not, as the Court majorities of the time insisted, the danger posed by many such calls. Ultimately, after much uncertainty, a unanimous Court adopted the essentials of the Holmes-Brandeis position in *Brandenburg* v. *Ohio* (1969), overturning the conviction of a Ku Klux Klan leader for inciting racial violence. The guarantees of free speech and free press, the Court said, in an opinion astounding for its distance from reality, do not permit government to outlaw the advocacy of force and violence except where the advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to succeed in doing so. This is the test applied in *Morse*, albeit in a much less threatening context, and the objections to it are the same. One speech advocating racial violence may not present an immediate danger, but what if it is one of a thousand such speeches? One bong banner may not disrupt the school's educational efforts, but what if similar acts become common in the school?

This is the famous "broken windows" problem. Two or three or a half-dozen broken windows create no serious threat in themselves, but left unfixed they convey the message that nobody cares much. Authority is marginalized, and crimes of greater seriousness follow. When Joseph Frederick gets away with his crude behavior, other students notice, and the school is well on the way to problems with discipline. The court of appeals noted that there was other rowdy conduct among the students—snowballs and flying bottles—but said such behavior was not traceable to Frederick's bong banner. The court could not possibly be sure of that. The banner, the snowballs, and the flying bottles are "broken windows." Principals and teachers ought to be free to deal with minor infractions of good order even if, viewed in isolation, they do not threaten the educational mission.

Education in the United States is concededly in poor condition. There was a time when public schools did a far better job, and that time was characterized by school discipline without recourse to the ACLU and the new and burgeoning mass of constitutional rights. I went for three years to a public high school where behavioral standards were maintained, at least during school hours. I was suspended for saying "Thanks a lot" to a teacher in a sarcastic tone. It never occurred to me or anyone else to go to court. And the result was good for the school, for the other students, and, not least, for me.

It is unfortunate in the extreme that law is being forced into every institution and social relationship. When law attacks authorities within institutions, it weakens those institutions, deprives them of their integrity, and makes them less effective. No doubt the obsession with rights has spread to the general population, which is all the more reason for the courts to step back and stop feeding the rights paranoia. If the Supreme Court holds for Deborah Morse, no harm will be done to Joseph Frederick or the law, and a process of rethinking the First Amendment, and reinvigorating schools and other institutions, may begin. **NR**

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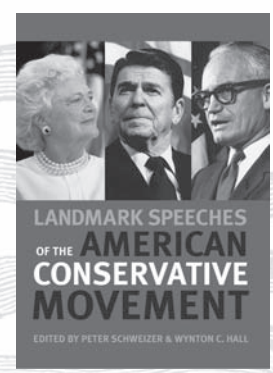

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■ PUBLIC POLICY

Ask, Tell, Whatever?

Gays-in-the-military comes up again

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

For the first time since the 2000 presidential campaign, the issue of homosexuals' serving openly in the military has moved to center stage. Encouraged by polls purporting to show that pubic opinion, both civilian and military, is now more receptive to the idea, Rep. Martin Meehan (D., Mass.), chairman of the relevant subcommittee, has revived his 2005 bill that would repeal the Clinton-era policy of "don't ask, don't tell" (DADT). DADT prohibits military commanders from asking about a person's sexual orientation and allows homosexuals to serve if they keep their sexual orientation private and don't engage in homosexual acts. Meehan's bill would replace DADT with "a policy prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation."

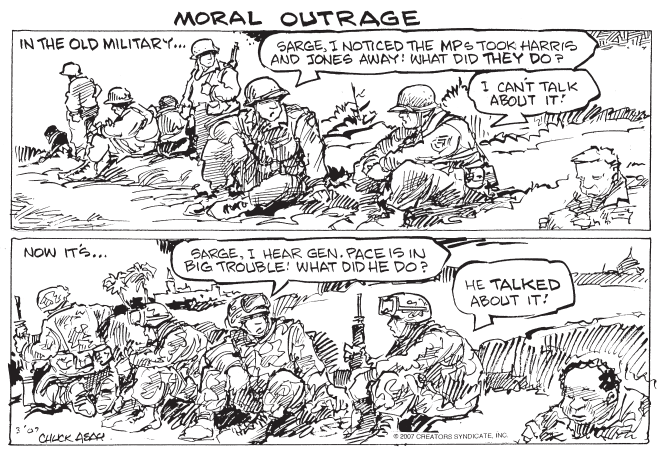
The timing of this debate is unfortunate. As David S. C. Chu, undersecretary of defense for personnel and readiness, wrote in a recent letter to Sen. Ron Wyden (D., Ore.), "The Global War on Terrorism is far-reaching and unrelenting." A national debate on gays in the military threatens to cause "divisiveness and turbulence across our country, [compounding] the burden of the war."

The most interesting aspect of the current debate is the change in tactics on the part of advocates of open homosexual service. In the past, they argued that this was merely the latest episode in a struggle for equal civil rights—often invoking President Truman's postwar executive order that racially integrated the U.S. military.

Mr. Owens is an associate dean of academics and a professor of national-security affairs at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I. He is writing a history of U.S. civil-military relations.

Boston Globe columnist James Carroll wrote in 2000 that "today's soldiers and sailors reluctant to serve shoulder to shoulder with homosexuals are the progeny of racist and sexist soldiers and sailors who were told to get over it or get out."

But now they argue that the exclusion of homosexuals undermines military effectiveness and is at odds with public opinion. This claim is made by both liberals and conservatives. For instance, in a letter to defense secretary Robert Gates asking him to "revisit" DADT, Senator Wyden wrote that the policy "makes absolutely no sense and undermines the fight against terrorism." Wyden's office has contended that dozens of homosexual service members with critically needed skills like proficiency in Arabic have been discharged, and that enforcing the policy costs hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars.


MORAL OUTRAGE
IN THE OLD MILITARY...
SARGE, I NOTICED THE MP'S TOOK HARRIS AND JONES AWAY! WHAT DID THEY DO?
I CAN'T TALK ABOUT IT!
NOW IT'S...
SARGE, I HEAR GEN. PACE IS IN BIG TROUBLE! WHAT DID HE DO?
HE TALKED ABOUT IT!
CHUCK ASAY
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Wyden has always opposed the exclusion of open homosexuals, but even some who once favored the exclusion are making the same argument. In January, retired Army general John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Clinton, wrote in the *New York Times* that he had reconsidered his position and concluded that the current policy should be reversed. He based his change of heart on his belief that the U.S. military has been "stretched thin," and that public sentiment has shifted in recent years. Former Republican senator Alan Simpson has made essentially the same arguments in a *Washington Post* op-ed.

There are several problems with these arguments. First, the numbers used by opponents of DADT to support their position are questionable. For example, the main evidence for the contention that there is greater public acceptance of open homosexual service, both within and outside of the military, is a Zogby International poll published in December 2006. But as Elaine Donnelly's Center for Military Readiness has pointed out, Zogby chose to highlight the response to an irrelevant question: "Are you comfortable interacting with gay people?" Seventy-three percent of respondents replied that they were. But in response to the central question ("Do you agree or disagree with allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?"), only 26 percent agreed, while 37 percent disagreed and 32 percent were neutral. That is hardly indicative of overwhelming public support for open homosexual service.

The numbers purporting to show that military members favor open homosexual service are fishy as well. The Zogby news release stated that the poll was designed in conjunction with the Michael D. Palm Center (formerly the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military), an advocacy group that has long pushed for open homosexual service. This fact may or not have an impact on the credibility of the poll. But the polling sample does: It claims to be based on a sample of 545 people "who have served in Iraq and Afghanistan (or in combat support roles directly supporting those operations), from a purchased list of U.S. military personnel." But, as Donnelly observes, the U.S. military does not sell or provide access to personnel lists.

The Zogby figures are further called into question by a January 2007 *Military Times* survey of active-duty subscribers, which found that while 30 percent thought that open homosexuals ought to be permitted to serve, 59 percent did not, and 10 percent had no opinion. The 59 percent opposed to

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open homosexual service was identical to that revealed by a January 2006 survey conducted by the same paper.

Then there is the question of the effect of DADT on the retention of crucial personnel, such as Arabic linguists. Advocates of open homosexual service have made a big deal of this, claiming, for instance, that 54 Arab linguists have been separated from the military because they were homosexual. But the Pentagon has argued that most of those who are counted among the 54 had not achieved linguistic proficiency, and that over a decade only nine qualified Arabic specialists have been separated because of the law.

But let's address the broadest question: Why prohibit open homosexual service at all? Congress provided the answer in 1993, when it passed the current law: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service and presents a risk to the morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that underpin military effectiveness."

An important element of war is "friction," which Clausewitz described as "the only concept that more or less corresponds to the factors that distinguish real war from war on paper." Clausewitz's friction describes the cumulative effect of the small, often unnoticeable events that are amplified in war, producing unanticipated macro-effects. Military effectiveness aims at reducing the impact of friction and other obstacles to success on the battlefield.

Most research has shown unit cohesion is critical to military effectiveness and battlefield success. The key to cohesion is what the Greeks called *philia*—friendship, comradeship, or brotherly love. *Philia* is the bond among disparate individuals who have nothing in common but facing death and misery together. Its importance has been described by J. Glenn Gray in *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle*:

> Numberless soldiers have died, more or less willingly, not for country or honor or religious faith or for any other abstract good, but because they realized that by fleeing their posts and rescuing themselves, they would expose their companions to greater danger. Such loyalty to the group is the essence of fighting morale. The commander who can preserve and strengthen it knows that all other physical and psychological factors are little in comparison. The feeling of loyalty, it is clear, is the result, not the cause, of comradeship. Comrades are loyal to each other spontaneously and without any need for reasons.

The presence of open homosexuals (and women) in the close confines of ships or military units opens the possibility that *eros* will be unleashed into an environment based on *philia*, creating friction and corroding the very source of military excellence itself. It does so by undermining the non-sexual bonding essential to unit cohesion as described by Gray. Unlike *philia*, *eros* is sexual, and therefore individual and exclusive. *Eros* manifests itself as sexual competition, protectiveness, and favoritism, all of which undermine order, discipline, and morale. These are issues of life and death, and help to explain why open homosexuality and homosexual behavior traditionally have been considered incompatible with military service.

But can't these problems be solved by enforcing regulations against fraternization and sexual relations among service members? There are indeed such regulations on the books, but they cannot always be enforced. And when they are not, the consequences extend far beyond the individuals involved. Over the past two decades I have seen the poisonous effects that personal relationships gone wrong can have in an academic setting. But no one died. In combat, the consequences could well be lethal.

Finally, some advocates of open homosexual service—e.g., Senator Simpson—observe that it has not had an adverse effect on other militaries in the world. But where it matters most—in combat units—these other militaries follow pretty much the same policy as the United States.

In the end, it is up to Congress to decide whether to change the law. As Prof. Charles Moskos of Northwestern University, dean of American military sociologists and the primary architect of the DADT policy, pointed out several years ago in the *Wall Street Journal*, there are foolish reasons for excluding homosexuals from the armed forces, but that does not mean we should ignore the good ones. Chief among the good reasons remains military effectiveness. **NR**

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■ AFRICA

A Tyrant in Zimbabwe

Though not the worst that continent can produce

ANTHONY DANIELS

Robert Mugabe is the last surviving participant in what Lord Byron (who said he longed to see it) called Africa's "first dance of freedom." Actually, Byron would have been more prophetic to call it "Africa's first dance of power" after a period in which sovereignty had been removed from the continent's indigenous rulers and vested in colonial interlopers. In hindsight, it appears that almost all African anti-colonial political leaders were engaged not so much upon a freedom struggle as on a power struggle.

Mugabe may now strike us as a suitable hate figure, and there is no doubt that he has done incalculable damage to his country; he is said to have produced the most rapid and severe contraction of any economy in modern history. Yet the fact that there is a head of a formally constituted opposition, Morgan Tsvangirai, for the police to beat up, and that a judge of the Zimbabwean high court recently ordered the police to return the passports of two members of the opposition who had been arrested at the airport while trying to leave the country, suggests that Mugabe's regime is less fully dictatorial than many other African regimes established in the immediate wake of independence.

It is none the better for that, of course; but the chaos and violence that Zimbabwe now faces is precisely the argument used by African dictators of the old school, who justified their tyranny by the unsuitability of Africa, once it had been divided into sovereign states on the European model, for parliamentary democracy. It was inevitable, they argued, that once there was a contest for power violence would ensue and tribalism would be exacerbated, as political parties would split along ethnic lines. Therefore it was best, for the sake of development, to abolish the competition for power altogether.

Self-serving as these arguments were, they were taken seriously at the time by well-wishing Western observers, who were eager to exonerate African leaders from the charges of embittered old colonials, who claimed always to have known what would happen once Africans were in charge of Africa. The white population of Zimbabwe, when it was still Rhodesia, believed that the black nationalists were motivated more by a lust for the goods of this world than by a desire for freedom. "If the Affs [their contemptuous term for Africans] ever get power," they always said, "it'll be one man, one vote, once."

This was certainly true of most of post-independence Africa, where changes of government were brought about by coups rather than by the ballot box. Voting, where it occurred, was conducted on the Soviet model, with the innovation that certain presidents obtained more than 100 percent of the vote. In Zimbabwe, though there was ample evidence of intimidation at the polls, particularly in the rural areas, the opposition at least managed to vote down an amendment to the constitution, an event almost unparalleled in the post-independence history of Africa.

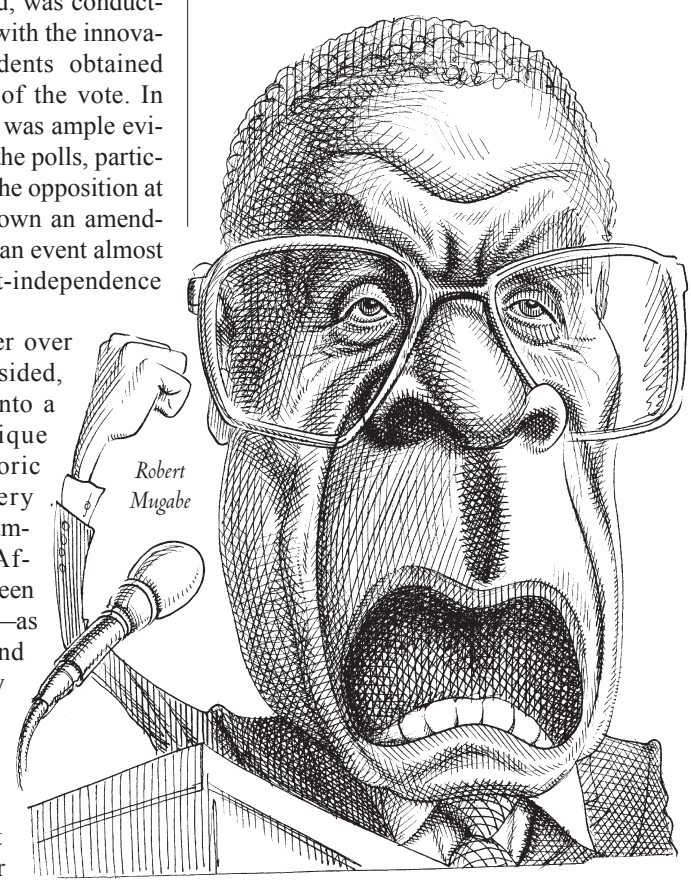
The economic disaster over which Mugabe has presided, turning a breadbasket into a basketcase, is not unique however. Radical rhetoric was used from the very first—in Ghana, for example, the sub-Saharan African country that has been independent the longest—as a cover for merciless and destructive looting by political elites and their military successors. The rhetoric was powerful because it had support from intellectuals not only in Africa but, far more important, in Europe and America.

The principal cause of Zimbabwe's economic collapse is the destruction of its agricultural sector. This was the result of the expropriation of land from the very small number of white farmers who produced in abundance the export crops that funded everything else.

But that expropriation had a historical and economic justification. No one can read of the alienation of the best land in the country to the whites who arrived at the very end of the 19th century without accepting that a great injustice was done to the original inhabitants. As the black Rhodesians used to say, "When the white man came, we had the land and he had the Bible; now he has the land and we have the Bible."

Furthermore, the colonial regime imposed monetary taxes upon the natives (the hut tax) that meant they had to seek employment for monetary wages, since their remaining subsistence plots were insufficient to meet the tax requirements. It wasn't quite forced labor, but it wasn't quite voluntary either.

At the same time, development economists argued that the alienation of so



ROMAN GENN

Mr. Daniels is the author of *Utopias Elsewhere* and other books.

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large a proportion of the land (in Zimbabwe's case, 50 percent in area and 90 percent in quality) to so small a number of farmers was economically inefficient: that African countries should change from extensive to intensive farming. Land reform was the supposed key to African prosperity. I remember being interested in the question when I worked in a Rhodesian hospital in the days when Ian Smith was the prime minister of the white-settler regime, and the view that the land of white farmers had to be expropriated was universal among the bien-pensants. It would have been social suicide in certain circles to deny it.

The vision of the land divided with utmost honesty into small plots for millions of industrious peasants was a complete fantasy, however, given the political circumstances. It was obvious that any land reform would work to the benefit of the political elites and their clients, as a means of reward and punishment, rather than for truly economic ends. That Mugabe, from the first an avowed Marxist, waited so long to implement land reform is the surprise (for a time he was actually a hero to the white population for his apparent economic conservatism), not that he indulged in a land grab and in the process deeply impoverished his countrymen, now and for a very long time to come.

Moreover, impoverishment by such means is not a harm but a benefit for African dictators and would-be dictators. It increases their control over the population as well as enriches themselves and their acolytes (no dictator can rule without a clientele). I saw precisely the same thing in Tanzania, where the odious little hypocrite Julius Nyerere, widely regarded as a saint by well-meaning fools and development economists, especially in Britain and Scandinavia, pauperized his country by the same method, dying peacefully in bed after exercising dictatorial power for 25 years. The poorer his people, the firmer his control. The peasants were thin, but the members of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the Party of the Revolution (and, needless to say, the only party), were fat.

The direst consequence of European colonialism in Africa was the model of the omnicompetent state, which African political elites naturally, and in the event correctly, saw as the quickest way to power and enrichment. This is a problem that democratic politics of the formal kind will not solve and can in certain circumstances make worse. The underlying problem for Africa is not democracy, but the limitation of state power, especially in the economic field. The former may be a necessary condition of the latter, but it is certainly not sufficient. Periodic competitions for exclusive places at the governmental trough are not the solution for Africa, if feeding at the governmental trough remains the only means by which people may improve their condition. Indeed, where this is true, one-party systems may, at least until the inevitable explosion comes, result in more peace than nominally democratic ones.

The underlying problem for Africa is not democracy, but the limitation of state power, especially in the economic field.

A change of regime in Zimbabwe, then, is not sufficient, at least if the old Romanian peasant saying that a change of rulers is the joy of fools is not to be proved true once again. What is needed from the politicians who will, sooner or later, take over from Mugabe is a self-denying ordinance, along the lines of that adopted by the American founding fathers. It is too soon to be sure that they will adopt one; they do, after all, grow out of a completely different social and intellectual tradition. The social pressures to behave in the old fashion may simply be too much for them.

Meanwhile, to the south, a similar crisis may be brewing. White farmers are being slowly driven off the land, again in the name of social, historical, and economic justice. Perhaps this explains the reluctance of the South African government to condemn Mugabe: Its own underlying ideas are, unsurprisingly in the light of history, not wholly dissimilar. If the Mugabe tendency wins in South Africa—which is far from inevitable—the situation north of the Limpopo will seem like a *fête champêtre.* **NR**

■ **FOREIGN POLICY**

Good Neighbor

President Bush's real record in Latin America

OTTO J. REICH

President Bush just completed his eighth trip to Latin America, a region whose security and prosperity are crucial to the United States. Americans could benefit from learning more about their 600 million neighbors. Unfortunately, press coverage of the trip produced fewer informative articles than superficial analyses by "instant experts" whose contact with Latin America seems limited to Caribbean vacations and Mexican restaurants.

A perfect example is Fareed Zakaria's March 12 column in the *Washington Post*, titled "Bush's Missed-Boat Diplomacy." Zakaria's main thesis is that "until Bush's election in 2000, American foreign policy toward Latin America had been on the right track for two decades," but that after the election this "forward movement . . . was stopped" because "Bush came into office with few ideas about what he wanted to do in the region." History proves Zakaria wrong.

When President Bush took power, Latin America faced simultaneous economic, military, and political crises: Southern Cone nations were in financial freefall, Colombia was losing its war against terror, and everywhere instability and stagnation undermined confidence in democracy.

Indeed, Argentina was suffering an economic contraction twice as deep as the Great Depression in the U.S., with predictable political consequences: The Argentine presidency changed hands five

Mr. Reich has been a U.S. ambassador to Venezuela, an assistant secretary of state, and an assistant administrator of USAID. He currently runs a private business consultancy in Washington, D.C.

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times over a two-week period near the end of 2001.

That same year, we had constant reports of massacres and atrocities in Colombia. The government's hold on power was so tenuous that it had ceded to Marxist guerrillas a portion of territory the size of Switzerland, and nearly 40,000 right-wing paramilitaries and Communist guerrillas fought each other and government forces simultaneously. This led educated Colombians to flee their narcotics- and crime-ridden country in droves, taking their money with them. The U.S. embassy in Bogotá faced an 18-month backlog of applications from 180,000 Colombians seeking permanent residence in the U.S.

In Mexico, months prior to Bush's election Vicente Fox had miscalculated on his country's most sensitive bilateral issue with the U.S., demanding a complete overhaul of American immigration law rather than advocating gradual measures that may have been more politically acceptable to the U.S. public and Congress.

In Brazil, a fiery labor leader with a Marxist, anti-U.S. past, Lula da Silva, was soon to be elected president. The media confidently predicted that a conservative Republican president would be unable to work with Lula, and that relations with the region's largest economy would deteriorate.

In Haiti, defrocked priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who had been restored to power in 1994 by the Clinton administration, presided over a kleptocracy, engaging in or permitting trafficking of drugs and persons, arming gangs of thugs who killed political enemies, and setting thousands of refugees to flight aboard boats.

Bush confronted these and other inherited challenges. In response to the hemisphere's financial emergencies, his administration engineered unprecedented economic support packages for Argentina and its neighbors Brazil and Uruguay, which were also teetering on the verge of collapse. The largest IMF assistance program in history—amounting to $30 billion—was assembled for Brazil. For Uruguay's smaller economy, Bush personally ordered the first-ever use of an emergency U.S. Treasury mechanism to provide a $1.5 billion loan (which Uruguay later repaid).

Consequently, by the third quarter of 2002 all three countries were beginning an economic recovery which has lasted to this day. While credit belongs to the people and leaders of those countries, it is noteworthy that their presidents—Uruguay's Battle, Argentina's Duhalde, and Brazil's Cardoso (Lula had not been elected yet)—all publicly thanked the U.S. government and President Bush.

While Colombia is still far from lasting peace, its situation has improved. Bush revamped U.S. intelligence-sharing with Colombia, and offered it greater economic and military assistance. Having built on these changes, the government of Álvaro Uribe now controls all of the national municipalities. Rightist paramilitaries have surrendered by the thousands, and the Marxist guerrillas have been degraded and forced to retreat deep into the jungle. The economy is growing at more than 5 percent per year; annual job creation is in the hundreds of thousands; capital flight has been reversed; and, most important, Colombian professionals and managers no longer flee but are returning to rebuild their country.

On arrival, Bush's team was faced with other serious challenges: A healthy Castro was still supporting violence throughout the region; Hugo Chávez, in power for two years, was vigorously undermining Venezuelan democracy and his neighbors' stability; and foreign investment in the Americas in the late '90s had dropped by a third, deepening existing poverty and unemployment and swelling the flow of migrants to the U.S.

Zakaria avers that "on trade, the [Bush] administration slowed the momentum

LARRY DOWNING/REUTERS

Shaking on it: Bush and Brazil's Lula da Silva in March

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coming out of NAFTA," thus hurting Latin America. But Zakaria's timeline is off by eight years. NAFTA, negotiated by Bush 41 along the lines of Reagan's original proposal, was approved by Congress in 1993 with overwhelming Republican support and backed by President Clinton. Unfortunately, Clinton allowed trade-promotion authority, necessary for the administration to conduct successful free-trade negotiations, to lapse in 1994. Consequently, the U.S. did not conclude any other trade agreements until 2002, when George W. Bush got Congress to restore trade-promotion authority by a narrow margin after strong personal lobbying. Since then, the U.S. has concluded trade negotiations with Chile, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Colombia, and Peru. Hardly a "slowing of momentum."

Bush tackled other problems that previous governments had ignored. A multi-billion-dollar Millennium Challenge Account was created, and has revolutionized economic assistance by requiring anti-corruption programs, free-market policies, and respect for human rights as prerequisites for American aid. The Bush administration, by implementing visa laws that hadn't previously been enforced, has denied or revoked entry permits to corrupt private or public officials. Bush created the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, for the first time in 48 years organizing all the elements of the executive branch to "hasten the end of the Castro dictatorship" and ensure an orderly response to a future request for assistance from a democratic Cuba.

Today, Bush's relations with Brazil's Lula are warm and constructive. They have met personally a dozen times and established bilateral cabinet-level working groups. Lula's economic policies are mainstream, earning support from the international financial community as well as the U.S. Aristide is in exile in South Africa while his impoverished country attempts to overcome his years of misrule. Chávez is increasingly isolated; he "shadowed" Bush's recent Latin American trip and drew pathetically small crowds. (This is not to deny that Venezuela's vast oil wealth is available for Chávez's arbitrary use, making him a threat we cannot afford to underestimate.)

It should also be recalled that, for his first two and a half years in the White House, Bush faced these problems without a Senate-confirmed assistant secretary of state for the Western Hemisphere. I had been nominated to that post but the capricious Christopher Dodd blocked confirmation hearings, offering no explanation other than that he could block them if he wanted to.

Zakaria wrote in his column that "even the Republican Senate eventually rejected [Reich's] nomination." In fact, my nomination was never "rejected" by the Senate, because there was never a vote. Dodd, as chairman of the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, refused to hold even a hearing, let alone a vote. He was able to do this because, notwithstanding Zakaria's assertion to the contrary, the Senate was not in Republican hands; the Democrats had taken control in May 2001 with the defection of James Jeffords.

Most egregious, however, are Zakaria's ad hominem fabrications in describing my role in the events in 2002 that led Chávez's military colleagues to seek—unsuccessfully—his ouster for violating the Venezuelan constitution. Contrary to Zakaria's claims, the State Department inspector general found that neither the department nor my bureau nor I acted inappropriately. This exoneration is documented on the State Department website in the inspector general's report of July 2002.

The source of Zakaria's many falsehoods is Jorge Dominguez, a Harvard professor. Dominguez and I have differences about Latin America and particularly Cuba. For example, Dominguez has called for the public honoring of Fidel Castro as a great man who has transformed his nation. Some may consider it odd to call for the honoring of a despot who has destroyed his country's liberties, morale, and infrastructure. But Dominguez is entitled to his oddity. Most of the time, its victims are his students. This time it was Fareed Zakaria.

That many of the countries Bush just visited were failing five years ago is sufficient to demonstrate the shallowness of his critics. Much work remains to be done. It would help if the American people had accurate analysis from the chattering classes. **NR**

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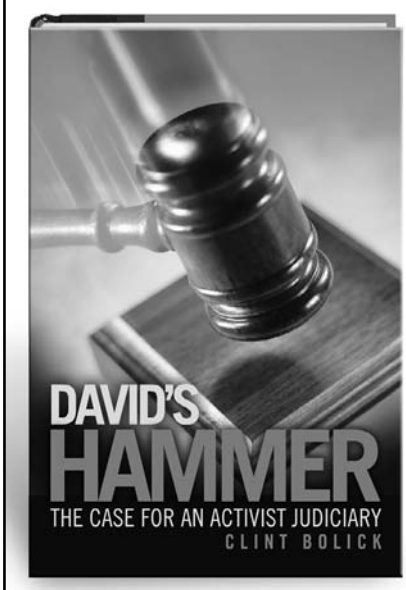

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Land of Cedars And Sorrow

The ongoing drama of Lebanon

MARIO LOYOLA

THE caverns of St. Maron overlook a river that moves barely enough water to break the intense stillness of the northern Bekaa Valley. Soon after the start of the Muslim Arab conquest some 13 centuries ago, the caverns were a refuge for the patron saint of the Maronite Christians. They must have been a good hiding place; you have to be standing right in front of them to see them at all.

My guide was the mayor of Kaa, a nearby Christian community just miles from the desolate Syrian frontier. As he scampered up the rocks toward the opening of the caves, I had trouble keeping up with him. He led me to the central chamber of the caverns, and to a small alcove which had been carved out of the sheer rock. At the alcove's center was a large dark cross etched on the cave wall like a prehistoric cave-drawing. Candles, recently extinguished, were collected beneath it. Just a few feet away, in both directions, meter-long vertical slits in the cave wall offered a variety of firing positions from which archers could cover every possible approach.

The defenses proved their worth: The Christians are still here. But today, the hopes of Lebanon's recent Cedar Revolution have given way to weariness and fear as the country confronts yet another existential crisis. Once again, the state is simply too weak to overcome the challenges facing it. The danger is mounting for all of Lebanon—but for the Christians most of all. Having lost majority status decades ago, the Christians of Lebanon have had to accept Lebanon's new "Arab face," and also that Lebanon can be sacrificed for Arab causes. Now the rising tide of Islamism endangers their very way of life. To the many millions of Lebanese Christians in the diaspora there may soon be added a million more.

The region recalls popular images of the Wild West. The near-total absence of the state is punctuated only by the occasional lonely army outpost with a flag or two inside its perimeter. The one I saw up close was apparently garrisoned by a single feckless soldier. Such are the resources that Lebanon can muster to control the Syrian frontier.

Hezbollah, on the other hand, is everywhere. In its public-works projects—as in the dizzying number of yellow posters portraying its leader, Hassan Nasrallah, and Ayatollah Khomeini—Hezbollah's presence vastly outmatches that of the government. In many ways, in this part of Lebanon, Hezbollah *is* the government.

Relations between Christians and Shiites here are distant but cordial. But if Hezbollah's presence in the northern Bekaa Valley is not confrontational, its behavior in Beirut is rather different. Today, an area of downtown that includes the financial district and the government palace—called the "Serail" by the Turks who built it in the 19th century—is ringed by barricades and Hezbollah checkpoints. Within the barricades, elite commandos of the Lebanese army sit at firing positions looking over the Hezbollah tent camp. The spectacle of Hezbollah's tents, collected like a besieging army at the doorstep of the central government, is eerily ancient. But its demands are modern enough: After pulling its ministers out of the government, the Hezbollah-dominated opposition claims that the government is illegitimate without its participation, and is insisting on a "blocking third" veto right over all government actions.

The government continues to operate, albeit within outlandish restraints. Four of the remaining ministers, including Prime Minister Fouad Siniora, cannot be effectively protected outside

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the government compound and have taken up semi-permanent residence there. Hezbollah ally Nabih Berri, the Shiite speaker of parliament, is blocking most legislative initiatives, including the electoral law and the bill to establish a special tribunal concerning the murder of onetime prime minister Rafik Hariri. The financial district has been turned into a ghost town. Hundreds of shops and restaurants have had to close, with job losses in the thousands. And the economy has been crippled—since January, it has lost more than 3 percent of GDP.

The Cedar Revolution was an outpouring of national sentiment after the assassination of Hariri, just two years ago; it brought an end to 15 years of Syrian control. But today, many Lebanese are complaining that the revolution's leaders have botched it—allowing the Syrian-backed president, Emil Lahoud, to stay in office illegally; allowing Hezbollah ministers into the government; and not moving quickly enough to fill the vacuum left by the Syrians, or to capitalize on the support of the U.N. Security Council.

STRANGE TENT-FELLOWS

But whatever the tactical mistakes, the Cedar Revolution had an uphill struggle from the start. As is almost always the case with political alliances in Lebanon, its forces have more enemies in common than they do principles. Formerly the bitter opponents in Lebanon's civil war, the Christian, Druze, and Sunni blocs that make up the governing majority of the Cedar Revolution have no common program for addressing Lebanon's long-term problems—or even a common understanding of what those problems are.

The blocs that make up the governing majority of the Cedar Revolution have no common program for addressing Lebanon's long-term problems—or even a common understanding of what those problems are.

Meanwhile, the opposition has maintained a united front. This is odd, because it is itself among the most bizarre and unlikely coalitions in Lebanon's bizarre and unlikely history. Hezbollah has aligned itself on a platform with a collection of Syrian-backed parties—but also with the Free Patriotic Movement of the Christian general Michel Aoun, who in a former life (during the late 1980s) was head of the Lebanese army, then prime minister of Lebanon, and leader of the anti-Syrian resistance. A significant fraction of the Christian community is still loyal to Aoun—and, with good reason, detests the fascistic rival Christian leader, Samir Jaja. Aoun's decision to support Hezbollah has fatally split the Christian community.

Michel Aoun has a gentle and even grandfatherly demeanor. I sat with him at his compound in an affluent neighborhood in the hills above Christian East Beirut. "Our strategy is to 'Lebanonize' Hezbollah," he explained. Like the many Lebanese who are willing to tolerate Hezbollah for the time being, Aoun thinks that Hezbollah will willingly give up its weapons after Lebanon's grievances against Israel—disputes over the Shebaa Farms and certain frontier villages, and a handful of Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails—have been dealt with. But critics say that Aoun is foolish to think Hezbollah will disarm after the resolution of these grievances.

It became clear to me, however, that Aoun is not as friendly to Hezbollah as is commonly supposed by supporters of the Cedar Revolution. Aoun has correctly understood that the salvation of Lebanon depends upon developing strong institutions of national democratic governance. His strategy is to transcend "confessional democracy" through political coalitions based on common interests rather than confessional identity. "It will take a long time," he told me, "and because it will take a long time, it is urgent to start now."

Unfortunately, if Aoun is gravely mistaken in trusting Hezbollah, he is almost certainly right in his mistrust of the Sunni "Hariri bloc": After 9/11, the United States asked the government of Lebanon to freeze Hezbollah's bank accounts—and Rafik Hariri, then prime minister, refused. Even now Sunni politicians in Lebanon never question Hezbollah's heroism as a resistance movement, or its right to fight Israel autonomously. In my conversation with him, the polished and charismatic Ahmed Fatfat, a Sunni and one of the most powerful ministers of the Cedar Revolution cabinet, was adamant in his enmity toward Israel, and even called the occupation of Palestinian territories the "greatest injustice in human history." He also told me that majority rule would destroy Lebanon, and argued that the weakness of the state was the very strength of Lebanon's political system.

Even in the Christian bloc within the Cedar Revolution, most remain committed to the idea of "consensual" or "confessional" democracy, according to which power centers of the state are specifically reserved for the various communities. According to tradition, the president of Lebanon and the head of the army are Christian; the prime minister is Sunni; the speaker of the parliament is Shiite; the foreign minister is Orthodox Christian; and the defense minister is Druze.

Few Lebanese have any faith in majority rule. It is almost a defining premise of Lebanon's constitution that constitutions cannot be trusted—and therein lies its fatal weakness. In Lebanon, majority rule has been compromised out of a desire to defend confessional minorities, but the effect has been to create a state that is incapable of defending itself.

A BROADER CONFLICT

As a result of the Six Day War of 1967, several hundred thousand Palestinian refugees—with thousands of Yasser Arafat's heavily armed *fedayeen* among them—took refuge in South Lebanon. Israel demanded that Lebanon disarm the Palestinian

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militia. The Lebanese government proved incapable of complying, and fatally agreed to allow the PLO to keep its arms and carry on the war. Thus Lebanon became an unwilling enemy of Israel, and has remained so ever since.

It was at this point that Lebanon ceded its sovereignty to armed militias—and never got it back. The presence of an armed Palestinian militia led other groups in Lebanon to arm their own. Militias proliferated, and Lebanon became a powder keg for civil war. Evidence of last summer's war is rare in Lebanon: Bridges destroyed in targeted strikes are the only indication outside Hezbollah-dominated areas that there was any conflict at all. But throughout Beirut, evidence of the civil war of the 1970s and 1980s is commonplace. I saw scores of abandoned buildings scarred by shelling and heavy-machine-gun fire—and this despite decades of steady reconstruction.

The Israelis expelled the PLO from Lebanon in 1982, but the militias remained—and so did Syria. After James Baker apparently gave Syria a free hand in Lebanon to gain its support for the 1991 Gulf War coalition, the Syrians became masters of Lebanon. It was during the years of Syrian occupation that Hezbollah rose to the fore as the principal force resisting the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. In 2000, Israel finally withdrew, amidst victory celebrations in which Hezbollah lionized itself for heroic national resistance. The celebrations were hardly over when Hezbollah turned its attention to the Israeli-occupied Shebaa Farms. This new grievance was hard to justify: The tiny Shebaa Farms had been under Syrian occupation for years before Israel seized the land from Syria. An editorial in the French-language daily *L'Orient Le Jour* attacked the new Hezbollah goals as a pretext to serve Iranian and Syrian interests at the expense of Lebanon. "Why," asked the editors, "has nobody mentioned the Shebaa Farms before this?"

In response to a reporter's question during a visit to London, then–prime minister Hariri implied that there was no longer any reason for Hezbollah to keep its weapons—the goals of the resistance had been achieved. Hezbollah protested loudly, and Hariri was quickly forced to back off his position. But once out of power, Hariri was to prove an increasingly nettlesome problem for the Iran-Syria-Hezbollah axis; he was assassinated in February 2005, and many attribute the current political crisis to the Lebanese government's decision to cooperate with the international investigation into his death. A project to establish a tribunal is currently paralyzed by the speaker of parliament, the Hezbollah ally Nabih Berri.

In any case, the impasse over the current government's legitimacy must come to a head by November, when the pro-Syrian president Lahoud must hand over power to the prime minister in expectation of fresh elections. But Lahoud says that as there is no legitimate government, he will have to remain in power until there is a government that he considers legitimate. Many Lebanese have taken this as a coup foretold. By November, there could be civil war—again.

Another time-bomb is the mounting tension over Hezbollah's missiles. I was told that after last year's war, Gen. Michel Sleiman, the Christian head of the Lebanese army, called Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah to deliver a frank warning: "The situation with the missiles has to be resolved. This can't continue." But as Hezbollah digs in on the north bank of the Litani River, boasting of 30,000 missiles, the strategic situation is worsening dramatically. As Iran races toward a full nuclear breakout, Hezbollah's missile threat against Israel is being showcased as a prominent counter-deterrent to any American or Israeli strikes.

On the ground, the strategic significance of the 28,000 U.N. and Lebanese army troops deployed in South Lebanon is difficult to gauge. On one hand, Hezbollah can barely move around in South Lebanon without running straight into a UNIFIL or Lebanese army patrol. The patrols are not aggressive, but they are everywhere, and their very presence dramatically limits Hezbollah's freedom of action—south of the Litani.

But north of the Litani, where Hezbollah is digging in unimpeded, its medium-range missiles can still unleash missile terrorism over the northern third of Israel. Hezbollah is clearly arranging its capabilities so as to use the UNIFIL and Lebanese army troops as a military shield in any conflict with Israel. Many leading Lebanese wave away the tolerance of Hezbollah's weapons as nothing more than a concession to reality, citing the example of Ireland and the IRA. But Ireland never publicly and legally ceded its claim to a monopoly of force.

LESS THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS

The most essential weakness of the state in Lebanon lies in the fact that the loyalties of so many Lebanese lie elsewhere. Just as the confessions have sapped the strength of majority rule, the fatal compromise of permitting armed militias to exist and operate freely is motivated chiefly by the tragic ideology of Arab nationalism, which legitimized the PLO's weapons a generation ago, and legitimizes Hezbollah's today.

In one important sense, Arab nationalism is merely a secular variant of Wahhabism and Khomeinism. The Koran divides the world into two parts: the House of Islam (that part of the world controlled by Muslims) and the House of War (that part not yet controlled by Muslims). The community of Muslims is called the *umma*, a concept at once religious and political. It is commonly said that "Arabism is a body whose soul is Islam." Even if secular Arab nationalists don't seek a restoration of the Koranic caliphate, their political "community" is an unmistakable analogue of the Koranic *umma*.

It can hardly be anything else. As former Aoun adviser Roger Azzam pointed out to me, there is no such thing as an Arab "nation." The Arab world consists of a multitude of ethnicities that were "Arabized" by the Muslim conquest. What they have in common is a religious text—the Koran—and the language in which it is *written*. As for spoken Arabic, one Lebanese friend of mine remembers speaking English to his Moroccan friends when he lived in London, because it was "easier."

It is Hezbollah that most clearly reveals the Koran behind the veil of Arab nationalism. Hezbollah fights for all the pan-Arab causes, but it formally recognizes the religious leader of a non-Arab nation—Iran—as the ultimate *political* authority. In recent years, Iran's Ali Khamenei has issued edicts to Lebanese Shiites instructing them on which way to vote in parliamentary elections. These edicts are communicated by Hezbollah leaders—and the Shiites obey. In this light, Hezbollah's provision of social and other quasi-governmental services takes on a more ominous aspect. Hezbollah is trying to eliminate the relation-

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ship between Lebanese Shiites and the state, and create in its stead a political community that depends upon—and attends upon—Tehran.

The identification of religious and political authority within Shiite doctrine is the essence of Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution. But it does not command unanimity of support among Shiite clerics. Shiite religious doctrine is currently dominated by two schools of thought—the Qum madrassa in Iran, and the Najaf madrassa in Iraq. As exemplified by the Ayatollah al-Sistani, the Najaf madrassa is a quietist school that believes in the separation of religion and politics. A leading Lebanese exponent of the Najaf madrassa is Mohammad Hajj Hassan, leader of the Free Shiite Union, the most important anti-Hezbollah Shiite political party.

HEZBOLLAH 'SECURITY OPERATIONS'

I visited the soft-spoken Hajj Hassan at his modest apartment in a poor Christian suburb of East Beirut. His bodyguards were downstairs, but impossible to detect. He lives alone. After he, his wife, and his daughter were beaten by dozens of Hezbollah thugs in his house in Beirut's Shiite suburb (the assailants told would-be visitors that they were conducting a "Hezbollah security operation"), he sent the two of them to the U.S. for safety, and moved to a Christian area for the same reason. "I know that Muslims are not persecuted in America, as Hezbollah propaganda claims, because my wife and daughter feel safe there."

I asked Hajj Hassan whether confessional democracy was the best way for Lebanon—whether majority rule was not essential to the success of democracy in any state. His response was arresting: "Democracy is an integral political idea. You must either accept it totally or reject it totally." I asked him whether he thought that a political accommodation with Hezbollah was possible. He shook his head. "Hassan Nasrallah is the same as Osama bin Laden," he said ruefully.

Calm and philosophical, Hajj Hassan was the most impressive of the Lebanese leaders I spoke with. He is much less sanguine about the intentions of Hezbollah than is Michel Aoun. "Iran has invested billions in Hezbollah. Hezbollah is a central part of Iran's 'Arab strategy' for regional domination." And he explained that Iran's nuclear-weapons program is the centerpiece of that strategy. "They will never agree in good faith to limit that program," he said.

As a political party, Hezbollah has been astonishingly effective in becoming the dominant political force among Shiites—and excluding all other contenders. As an embryonic state, its activities run the gamut of social services and public works—from water projects to property licensing to the adjudication of commercial disputes. And as a militia, Hezbollah's power is unassailable by any combination of forces in Lebanon. In the words of one Christian MP, "Hezbollah has all the weapons it needs, and better weapons than the Lebanese army."

An important part of Hezbollah's strength comes from the decision, taken in 1990 soon after the organization was formally structured, to publicly forsake terrorism against civilians in favor of guerrilla warfare and political action. Americans have not forgotten the bombings that killed hundreds of our diplomats and soldiers; or the plane hijacking in which a young Navy diver was brutally murdered and tossed out on the tarmac; or the journalists and humanitarian workers kidnapped and held for ransom. Nor do we ignore that Hezbollah denies responsibility for these crimes while continuing to embrace them as acts of heroism—as it does the terrorist acts, including 9/11, carried out by other jihadist groups.

Hezbollah has been implicated in a number of terrorist acts even since its supposed conversion in 1990—the Khobar Towers attack, the bombing of the Jewish cultural center in Buenos Aires, and others. More important, Hezbollah trains and equips terrorists—both Sunni and Shiite—all over the Middle East, from Hamas and Islamic Jihad to the terror groups fighting on both sides in Iraq. Its intelligence services rival those of many states, and are deeply networked with Iranian and Syrian intelligence operations, as well as a host of terrorist organizations.

The crucial enemy in Lebanon, as in the broader Middle East, is now the Iran-Syria-Hezbollah axis. The Bush administration needs to shrug off its Iraq War fatigue and tackle this enemy head-on.

But the most important danger Hezbollah poses is its political program. Even many Lebanese who do not think Hezbollah is a terrorist organization are nonetheless terrified of it.

SOLVING THE UNMANAGEABLE

With the exception of the Iraq War, U.S. policy has tended to manage problems in the Middle East rather than try to solve them. In Lebanon, this will almost certainly prove to be a mistake. The economy continues to slide. Beirut remains a bustling city—but rumors are starting to circulate that if Hezbollah is not disarmed soon, rival communities will begin to form militias again. As the mere possibility of renewed civil war comes into prospect, the climate of political risk will start to create the conditions for a currency crisis. Lebanon is already among the world's most heavily indebted emerging market economies; a currency crisis could push the entire society through the ice from one day to the next.

The crucial enemy in Lebanon, as in the broader Middle East, is now the Iran-Syria-Hezbollah axis. The Bush administration needs to shrug off its Iraq War fatigue and tackle this enemy head-on. It should start with Hezbollah, and the fractures in its base. Hezbollah seeks to appeal to four disparate constituencies: the religious Shiite base, which is ideologically committed to the Khomeini revolution, but which remains a minority of Hez-

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bollah's support; the nonreligious Shiites who think little of Hezbollah's social doctrines (it is common to see Shiite women in tight jeans and T-shirts) but who increasingly depend upon Hezbollah for social services; the non-Shiite Muslim (and Christian) opinion that tolerates it as an anti-Israeli resistance force; and the worldwide collectivist alliance of Islamist and left-leaning anti-American forces.

The U.S. should take advantage of these fissures. First, it should support liberal Shiites: Hajj Hassan told me that the opening of a liberal, Najaf-style madrassa in Lebanon, which could be operated for a few hundred thousand dollars a year, would make a big difference—by graduating liberal clerics willing and able to tackle the Khomeinist religious leadership of Hezbollah. Second, it should work to strengthen the scope and capacity of the Lebanese state in its security presence and in the provision of services. Third, it should bring greater diplomatic pressure to bear against the legitimacy that Hezbollah enjoys as a resistance movement. Finally, it should stress that to the extent that Islamist and socialist worldviews are compatible with each other, they are fundamentally obnoxious to liberalism as understood in America.

Beyond Hezbollah lies the problem of Syria. Its regime is pernicious precisely because it is so weak. Like Saddam's tyranny in Iraq, the power of the Assad dynasty rests upon an ethnic minority that has no legitimate claim to rule the country. Its borders are meaningless—and terrorism flows past them unimpeded. More than one leading Lebanese politician told me that hastening the demise of the regime in Damascus was the single most helpful thing the U.S. could do.

Above all, the U.S. must cast away the diplomatic fiction that it takes no position on issues of internal Lebanese politics. Without a strong state capable of establishing central authority, Lebanon is likely to fail—and with it, America's hopes in the Middle East. The Lebanese army must be strengthened if it is to defend the authority of the state. And those leaders who support democracy must be able to count on our help. I was aghast when Hajj Hassan told me that I was only the third American he had ever talked to.

As the world's oldest democracy, America must share what it has learned—that majority rule is not a danger to democracy, but is essential to it; that minorities must be protected by the constitution, and not at its expense; that while government should always be limited in its powers, its authority must be supreme; and that the rule of law is the one thing on which a free society most vitally depends.

Early one evening I was driving through an outlying part of East Beirut when I heard, from a nearby Muslim enclave, the call to evening prayers. Broadcast from the minaret of the enclave's mosque, that enchanting voice reminded me that I was in the Muslim world. Then—the strangest thing—I heard church bells; first in ones and twos, and then from all directions, calling worshipers to the evening Mass—church bells everywhere. For a moment, all the problems of Lebanon seemed fleeting. I pondered how much older was the sound of church bells here than the Muslim call to prayers—how much more ancient. Still, I could only wonder: Centuries hence, will this land still be graced by the sound of church bells? To pray for that is to pray for Lebanon—and all its people. NR

■ PHILANTHROPY

Big Bucks, Big Minds, Big Hearts

The John Templeton Foundation

JOHN J. MILLER

THE most lucrative award in the world may also be the wordiest: the Templeton Prize for Progress Toward Research or Discoveries about Spiritual Realities. This year's winner, the philosopher Charles Taylor, will receive a check for more than $1.5 million, topping the amount that the Nobel Foundation gives a laureate. Taylor joins a list of annual recipients whose ranks include Mother Teresa, Billy Graham, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Chuck Colson, and Michael Novak.

When it comes to prizes, a handful of brand names resonate with the public—Nobel, Pulitzer, MacArthur—because they are by turns august, controversial, and quirky. Since it was first conferred in 1973, the Templeton Prize has earned a place among them. It's not only worth an enormous amount of money, but it's also distinctive: With a focus on religion, there's not much else like it.

In the future, however, the Templeton name will be known as well for its grand program of philanthropy springing from the fortune of Sir John Marks Templeton, the brilliant investor who is currently a 94-year-old resident of the Bahamas. Two decades ago, he established the John Templeton Foundation to coordinate the religion prize and become active in other areas. In 2004, he transferred $550 million into its bank accounts. Then he stepped down as chairman and elevated his son, John M. Templeton Jr.—who goes by "Jack"—to the position. Today, the Templeton Foundation, based in a Philadelphia suburb, gives away about $55 million per year and has an endowment valued at $1.2 billion. These figures will rise even higher when Sir John dies.

It would be wrong to call the Templeton Foundation conservative. "We don't use that label," says Jack. "I've always liked to consider myself a moderate." Yet many conservatives have benefited from its giving, especially as the number and size of the foundation's grants have increased. Last year, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute received more than $2.8 million to explore the cultural underpinnings of capitalist competition. Three right-of-center think tanks—Canada's Fraser Institute, California's Independent Institute, and Virginia's Mercatus Center—each won a grant of $500,000 to promote free-market solutions to global poverty. In 2005, the Heritage Foundation received $843,000 to develop a research database.

The Templeton Foundation can call this giving whatever it

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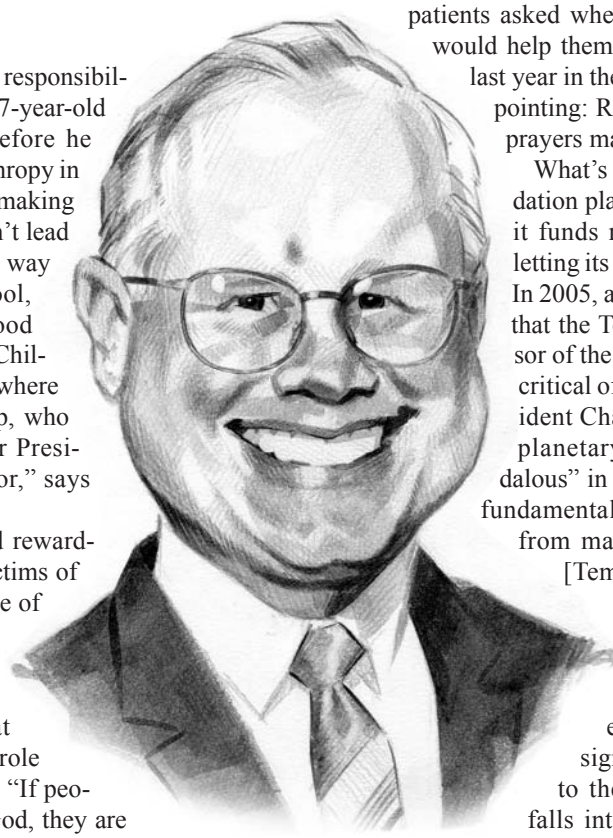
likes. There is no getting around the fact that it has quickly become a major force in conservative philanthropy.

The foundation owes its existence to a man that *Money* magazine once called "arguably the greatest global stock picker of the century." Sir John Templeton was born in Tennessee, graduated from Yale, went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, and began a career on Wall Street in 1937. He had a knack for finding undervalued companies, and his Templeton Growth Fund and other investment vehicles became famous for their high returns. He eventually moved to the Bahamas, naturalized as a British citizen, and prepared detailed instructions for how the foundation named after him should conduct its philanthropy.

LIFE EXPERIENCES

The man now charged with that responsibility is his son Jack, a soft-spoken 67-year-old who was a pediatric surgeon before he turned his full attention to philanthropy in 1995. Even though his father was making a killing on Wall Street, Jack didn't lead a pampered life: He worked his way through Harvard Medical School, holding a part-time job at a blood bank. He later went to work at Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, where he was hired by C. Everett Koop, who served as surgeon general under President Reagan. "He was my mentor," says Templeton.

The job was both difficult and rewarding. Most of his patients were victims of trauma, which is the leading cause of injury and death among children. "I learned that trauma is no accident," he says. "The power of culture plays a big part in what happens." He observed that the role of religion was especially strong. "If people see themselves as loved by God, they are more likely to do things such as buckle their seatbelts."



John M. 'Jack' Templeton Jr.

Templeton's father is a Presbyterian who once chaired the Princeton Theological Seminary, though more recently he has become involved in the positivist New Thought movement. The son, a pro-life evangelical Christian, discovered faith at an early age. "When I was seven or eight, I was sitting in the garden and felt an overwhelming sense of the reality of God," he says. "That moment shaped much of the rest of my life." He had other influences as well, among them Koop, whose son had died in a mountaineering accident. "He taught me about the sovereignty of God and the importance of placing your total trust in it."

Watching Koop deal with families that had lost children also had a profound influence on Templeton, who went on to become a veteran at coping with tragedy himself. "One time, we were treating a boy with a malignant liver tumor," he says. They removed it and placed the child in chemotherapy. "But we made a mistake. He received ten times the appropriate dosage. This went on for a few weeks and it led to devastating complications. When I suddenly realized what had happened, I called in the family and told them. They said they could see how much I was suffering from it and asked me to continue taking care of their son. That taught me a lot about forgiveness." (The boy survived the chemo blunder, but died a year later when the cancer recurred.)

The experience also possibly led to one of the Templeton Foundation's recent areas of interest: forgiveness research. The foundation has invested at least $4 million into the question of whether the act of forgiving can improve physical and mental health. Other grants have studied the links between prayer and health. A $2.4 million study involving 1,800 heart-bypass patients asked whether receiving prayers from strangers would help them recover faster. The results, published last year in the *American Heart Journal*, were disappointing: Researchers could find no evidence that prayers made a difference.

What's encouraging, at least, is that the foundation places its faith in the scientific method—it funds research and reports results, without letting its hopes or preconceptions get in the way. In 2005, a *Wall Street Journal* reporter suggested that the Templeton Foundation is a major sponsor of the intelligent-design movement, which is critical of evolutionary theory. Senior vice president Charles L. Harper Jr., an Oxford-trained planetary scientist, called the claim "scandalous" in a lengthy reply: "We fully support the fundamental right of university faculty to differ from mainstream views," he wrote, but "the [Templeton] Foundation itself vigorously disagrees with the ID position."

The foundation's interests aren't limited to the study of science and religion. Character development and education for the gifted also receive significant support. The six-figure grant to the Heritage Foundation, for instance, falls into the category of character development: It underwrites the creation of a website (FamilyFacts.org) that catalogues peer-reviewed social-science research involving childhood, parenting, and education for a general audience. Anybody who thinks this is part of a vast right-wing agenda hasn't taken a close look at other projects such as the Purpose Prize, which gives monetary awards to senior citizens who are social innovators. The panel of judges includes David Gergen, Cokie Roberts, and Gloria Steinem.

Unlike the Ford Foundation and other leading philanthropies, however, the Templeton Foundation devotes a significant share of resources to right-leaning causes. The newly formed Center for Excellence in Higher Education aims to help high-dollar donors improve their giving to colleges and universities so that, for instance, left-wing professors don't pirate their contributions and ignore their intentions. The foundation also funds many other prizes: $50,000 for spiritually uplifting movie screenplays, $10,000 for editorial writing on virtue, and so on.

Because of this, the Templeton Foundation has earned a rep-

DARREN GYGI

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utation, in some quarters, as a conservative outfit. The left-wing website Media Transparency, which monitors conservative funding, keeps a wary eye on its activities. In his private life, Jack Templeton has written checks for President Bush, the Republican party, and conservative 527 groups. He's also on the board of the Philadelphia-based Foreign Policy Research Institute. "I support FPRI because it's not afraid to say that America, despite its flaws, has been a force for good in the world," he says.

MISES & CO.

The Templeton Foundation's charter calls for supporting work on "free competition, entrepreneurship, and the enhancement of individual freedom and free markets." In case that isn't clear enough, it explicitly identifies the writings of Mises, Hayek, Friedman, and even Heritage Foundation president Edwin J. Feulner Jr. as guideposts. The foundation's complex governance structure also gives special standing to the heads of three free-market organizations: the Acton Institute, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and the Mont Pelerin Society.

"We're keen on expanding our work on free enterprise," says Jack Templeton. He believes there's plenty to do, and the foundation's latest prospectus announces the aim of giving away $20 to $25 million annually in this area by 2010. "I can't think of a TV program in the last 40 years that portrays businessmen as anything other than greedy, corrupt, manipulative, or nasty," he says. "Young people see this. It's the mindset of the academy. And so when they rally around a cause such as alleviating poverty, it doesn't occur to them that maybe free enterprise has a role to play."

The Templeton Foundation, by contrast, is investing heavily in this concept. It has committed $1.25 million to a series of Templeton Freedom Awards, administered by the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, to support free-market think tanks around the world. The latest batch of winners—16 think tanks in 14 countries—was announced on March 12. One of Jack Templeton's favorite projects, headed by James Tooley of Newcastle University, involves the study of for-profit schools in developing nations. "When poor parents pay a small tuition, there's greater accountability and the quality of education actually improves," says Templeton. Later this year, the foundation hopes to request proposals for a new initiative on how free markets influence character.

In the meantime, one of Templeton's great passions is to keep all foundations free from too much federal interference. "Regulation of philanthropies is a very big threat right now," he says. Sen. Charles Grassley, an Iowa Republican, and the Independent Sector, an association of charities and grantmakers, are proposing new regulations that would restrict the freedom of foundations to make to make basic governance and compensation decisions. "This would have a very bad effect on the small foundations that are the backbone of American philanthropy," says Templeton. "They're very good at meeting the needs that government can't provide, and they would really be hurt by this." He's so concerned about this emerging issue that he has personally lobbied members of Congress.

Maybe someday his own foundation will see fit to give him a prize. **NR**

■ **ESSAY**

Americans Without Americanness

Is our nation nothing more than an address?

JOHN McWHORTER

I will never forget a conversation I had with two twentysomething Muslims not long after 9/11. One had been born and raised in the United States, the other had come here at a young age. It was clear from our conversation, though they gingerly avoided putting it explicitly, that neither of them entirely disapproved of what Osama bin Laden had done. There were, of course, multiple recitations of "I think what he did was terrible"—but delivered with a certain lack of emotional commitment. What came through was a sentiment that, in the end, something terrible had been necessary for bin Laden to get across a valuable message. I did not find it hard to imagine that the two young Muslims would have been more explicit about this with each other had I not been present.

The late Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is reported to have said that he could not walk down Fifth Avenue without wondering what it and the people on it would have looked like a century before. I share that type of historical curiosity—and it occurs to me that this conversation with the Muslims would have been very unlikely before about 30 years ago. There was a time when immigrants, if residing in America permanently, unhesitatingly embraced becoming Americans. Any sentiment that, say, Pearl Harbor was "understandable" would have been kept very, very quiet.

These two Muslims, however, thought of America as an opportunity, but not as an identity. Orientations like theirs are, in today's America, perfectly normal—even among the unhyphenated, as I have learned in assorted conversations since 9/11. Among a vast proportion of Americans, one of the very defining traits of being an American is to lack pride in being one. One either has no conscious sense of American identity or, if one is given to lending the issue more attention, is ashamed of being American. To celebrate America, meanwhile, is considered naive and peculiar; one gets a pass by defining America as the sum of competing "diversities"—witness claims that Barack Obama represents "what America is"—which means that America is no one thing, and thus nothing, finally, but an address.

Mr. McWhorter, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, is the author most recently of *Winning the Race: Beyond the Crisis in Black America*. **This essay was prepared for the 2007 Bradley Symposium addressing the topic "Who Are We Today? American Character and Identity in the 21st Century," to be held May 3, 2007, in Washington, D.C. For an invitation to the symposium, please contact Krista Shaffer at Krista@hudson.org.**

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AT HOME IN AMERICA

One thing that an American sent back in time to 1907 would have to get used to is how much prouder the American identity was among people of all walks of life. The term *American* carried a warmth and a swagger. People often referred to English spoken in our country as "American," and were not always joking: H. L. Mencken titled his scholarly masterpiece *The American Language*, a highly unlikely title for a similar work today. The American Beauty Rose was named in 1875; today one imagines a new rose being given a name like Suri. The Gershwin brothers titled an early hit "The Real American Folk Song Is a Rag" in a spirit of jolly celebration. A series of revues called *Americana*—unironically—ran on Broadway starting in the late Twenties.

There was, to be sure, an element of parochialism in this apple-pie patriotism, and too often it shaded into an unreflective George M. Cohan–style jingoism. A century from now, though, what will appear equally unreflective is the opposite sentiment now held up as a sign of enlightenment: active contempt for the American experiment.

The American Beauty: Would they call it that today?

Nowhere is this contempt more explicit than among our intelligentsia. The humanities and social sciences enshrine the examination of power relations (or, more specifically, injustice) obsessively. The endless explorations of the *subordination* of the *subaltern*, and the possibilities of *contesting* and *transgression*, are a stark abbreviation of human curiosity. Legions of scholars nevertheless devote careers to this narrow conception of scholarship, out of a fundamental commitment to revealing our Powers That Be as frauds. There is little room for love of country in this view of the world.

Obviously, it is old news for intellectuals to be gadflies. In the 1922 anthology *Civilization in the United States*, editor Harold Stearns blasted "emotional and aesthetic starvation," "the mania for petty regulation," "the driving, regimentating, and drilling" of society. Strong drink, but these scholars were mostly opposed to how the lesser sides of human nature gum up the works in a country that could do better. One searches this book in vain for the kind of bone-deep, utterly dismissive contempt for all that America stands for that is now common coin in academia.

For example, a cherished observation on a certain circuit is that "America was founded upon racism from its very beginnings," which regularly cops vigorous applause from white as well as black audience members. There's some truth to this, to be sure—but in that we cannot change it, the charge implies that it would have been better if Jamestown and Plymouth had never been settled and Africans had remained in their villages. Patriotism, obviously, does not apply here.

Certainly one would not expect scholarly people to devote careers to mere celebration. But one might imagine them fashioning a nuanced but vigorous brand of patriotism, calling America on its weaknesses with a basic pride in what we do right. A model would be typical intellectuals in France. Instead, we are taught that the enlightened orientation to our native land ought be more like the one that reigns in Germany, so deeply embarrassed about the Holocaust as to recoil at any prideful view of their *Vaterland*. The enlightened soul must therefore sneer at such notions as a U.S. policy titled *Homeland* Security.

The extreme nature of modern leftist academics' writings suggests that empirical engagement with reality is not the driving force in such ideology. For example, most of this work, while presented as advocacy for the downtrodden, reveals a curious lack of genuine commitment to change. The tacit assumption is that nothing could make America a worthy project short of a seismic transformation in its operating procedures and in the fundamental psychologies of its inhabitants. No reasonable person could have any hope that this could actually happen, and this can only mean that people who think this way maintain their opinions for reasons other than practical ones.

Those reasons are emotional rather than political—a desire to wear alienation from the Establishment as a badge of insight and sophistication. It reaffirms that the wearers are good people, good in a way unavailable to those less learned and aware. This cynicism is calisthenic: It benefits its bearer rather than the people it purports to be concerned about. It is something I have elsewhere termed *therapeutic alienation*.

Therapeutic alienation is not, however, confined to the ivory tower. Beyond the campus, explicit, acrid contempt for the Establishment is a fringe taste—but the therapeutic alienation at the roots of this contempt is now widespread, and has equally dire consequences for proud American identity. Existential alienation and oppositional sentiment for their own sake have a way of discouraging people from saluting a flag.

CHAFING AGAINST 'THE MAN'

In 1964, 76 percent of Americans reported trust in the government; by 2000—long before the Iraq War—only 44 percent, fewer than half, did. The dishonesty of the Johnson and Nixon administrations about the Vietnam War and the awakening of the country to the unjust treatment of blacks sparked this change. But that was a long time ago, and alienation has come to reign even among people too young to recall that era. The alienation has raged unchecked even as blacks have become steadily more central to even the highest realms of American life, and even under a Clinton administration that liberals did not consider arrantly mendacious about policy. It is no longer a response, but a self-standing gesture. Initiated by an external stimulus, this alienated posture has settled in as what one is born to and inhales as a norm, one readily embraced because of its self-congratulatory appeal.

An example is the howling antiestablishment despair typical of heavy-metal music, embraced even by the mild-mannered as "cool." Similar is the "gangsta" strain of hip-hop, full of excoriations of the police and celebrations of black people as "niggers" engaged in eternal battle against a racist AmeriKKKa, now a staff of life among legions of blacks under 50 and supported by a 70 percent white buyership. The modern American, having never known a time when music like this was not a norm, is given to assuming

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that it is, in the first case, a natural reflection of the rebelliousness inherent to youth, and, in the second, the inevitable reaction of blacks who have suffered the abuse of racism. Yet hungry Okie migrants knew no such music, nor did the black sharecroppers watching lynchings year by year. No, music like this is the product of an attitudinal tic specific to our times.

Therapeutic alienation sends ripples throughout the culture. The late comedian Sam Kinison built a career in the Eighties on delighting audiences with tirades capped by open-throated screaming about The Man. Barbie is now fighting for her life against Bratz dolls, provocatively clad with smirky facial expressions hinting that they are not unfamiliar with sex. This is alienation and oppositionalism as fetish, posture, performance.

Alienation as performance, to be sure, began the first time an early *Homo sapiens* child had a tantrum. But under ordinary conditions of human society, this behavior, while more typical of some individuals than others, does not become a zeitgeist. It is treated as an emotional indulgence that real-life exigencies must keep in check. Societies living on the land, ever in fear that weather or warfare will leave them in danger of starvation, do not know of alienation as sport. Modern America, however, is a wealthy society where few are hungry, and where there has not been a war on our own soil in 150 years (and not one that all able-bodied men were required to participate in in 40 years). Under these conditions, the tantrum no longer constitutes a threat to survival. Enter, then, alienation embraced as a cathartic pose. It is no accident that America saw a preview of the same in the prosperous Twenties, when the Smart Set went about with their copies of the studiously cynical *American Mercury*, whose editor, Mencken, was devoted more to the rhetorical sonority of trashing the powers that be than fashioning a coherent political alternative.

THE ALIENATED MINORITY

The reign of therapeutic alienation has also upended black America's orientation to being American. A time traveler to 1907 would find peculiar how openly the black people, just a decade past *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, were striving toward being "American." At all-black Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C., students were learning Latin. W. E. B. Du Bois taught Greek, and those who cherish his Marxist tilt later in life are often unaware that he could have conversed with Marx in German.

In their smash-hit musical *Shuffle Along* (1921), Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle included a ballad with language straight out of the operettas popular at the time: "Love will find a way / though now skies are gray / Love like ours can never be ruled / Cupid's not schooled that way." A photograph of black women protesting lynching in front of the White House in the Thirties includes a placard reading "Kentucky women demand justice for all American citizens"—as opposed to the more likely version in our own times, which would demand justice for "Black People."

Since the Sixties, black Americans are much more concerned with maintaining a "black identity"—a term unknown to Victorian-era Du Bois—than with being "American." Many would claim that this is because being black in America is to experience an ongoing assault from racist actions. But striving for Americanness was typical among a great many blacks in an era starkly racist to a degree we are blissfully past, when, as Richard Wright once put it, successful blacks were rare "single fishes that leap and flash for a split second above the surface of the sea," "fleeting exceptions to that vast, tragic school that swims below in the depths."

Of course, quite a few blacks and white fellow-travelers insist that little has changed since Wright wrote; they willfully neglect the fact that today there are more middle-class blacks than poor ones. Ideology also trumps empiricism in the insistences that (a) it's school underfunding that keeps black grades and test scores down (when many black students are amply documented as thinking of doing well in school as a "white" characteristic) and (b) the reason black men are overrepresented in the prison population must be "the prison-industrial complex" (when black men also commit violent crimes in vast disproportion to their percentage of the population).

The dogged insistence on chronicling "racism"—when the larger problem today is so clearly cultural, and *not* caused by racism—only makes sense as another manifestation of therapeutic alienation. Again, improved prospects ironically pave the way for staged grievance. When barriers to black advancement were concrete and pitiless, there was no room for poses about an all-too-real injustice. Only now can such routines thrive, lending passing pleasure to a people otherwise rising by the year. The result is that amidst musings on what black identity should be, Africa plays a large part while being "American" is considered beside the point—even though America is the only homeland black Americans have known for centuries, or ever will.

ROOTS OF DISASTER

There certainly exist people in the United States who have a self-conscious and positive sense of their identity as Americans. They are more likely to be military than civilian, conservative rather than liberal, working-class rather than upper-middle. They are on the defensive, regularly dismissed as maudlin and uninformed.

Could there ever again be in the U.S. a widespread sense of pride in a single culture, as has been typical of Greece, China, Thailand, or most other nations in human history? Sadly, I can think of nothing that could create such an America other than a sustained violent attack upon our country. Apparently, the single one that already happened has left the self-medicating oppositional impulse intact. Leftist intellectuals like Noam Chomsky and Susan Sontag were fashioning 9/11 as our just deserts for imperialism even while Ground Zero was still aglow. Chomsky's pamphlet on the issue sold like hotcakes. Good-thinking people have been taught to view al-Qaeda as freedom fighters sticking a thumb in our eye for our government's support of Israel.

Yet if we suffered a string of brutal nuclear bombings of several American cities à la television's *24*, in which it became a typical American experience to lose a relative or friend in carnage wrought by fundamentalist Arabs reviling America as the Great Satan, we would suddenly be back to the old days. Tragic, mercilessly concrete reality—maimed corpses, attending funerals as a monthly ritual—would make self-medicating iPod theatrics seem instantly trivial. The urgency of defending the life we know, American life, against murderous barbarians would instantly wake us up to the value of what America, its flaws acknowledged, is, and what it has achieved.

I regret to say that short of that, to be American will continue to be, for most who bother to think about it, what one might term a postmodern position: nurturing a sense of personal legitimacy upon a willful, bitter ambivalence toward a land one has no intention of leaving. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

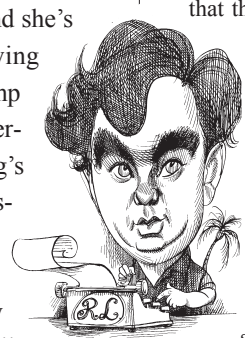
M E M O

TO: All Campaign Staff
FROM: TM

RE: This morning's meeting

TO ALL STAFF:

Many thanks to those of you who attended this morning's brainstorming session. Both the Senator and I thought a lot of really excellent ideas were generated, and I know that she appreciates everyone's willingness to stick an oar in and row. As you know, the Senator feels passionately that what we need in the next week (or less!) is a really strong YouTubes video to get out there on the Internet and the world wide web. It goes without saying that the Senator feels that we've let her down—and she's right! We have!—by allowing Senator Obama to get a jump on us with his web video offering. Everyone at this morning's meeting is aware of how passionate the Senator is on this topic.



You'll all be glad to know that the lamp did not actually hit our director of internet strategy when the Senator momentarily lost control of it during her rousing "let's do it" speech. It hit the back wall and shattered against the whiteboard, and no harm was done. Those of you who have worked with the Senator before know that she's a tireless and passionate advocate of open and free communication, and so it would be a grave disservice to her enthusiastic style of leadership to read about this incident on Wonkette.com. Especially as no one was actually hurt by the lamp, although Estrella our wonderful office maintenance/cleaning person did accidentally get a tiny shard of glass embedded in her right eye during the post-meeting cleanup.

Meanwhile, though, we've got our work cut out for us!

To recap, some of the ideas generated today were:

1. Barack Obama as the AFLAC duck—bringing up "if it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's a duck"-type messages. Not clear, though, what we're saying about him. He isn't an actual duck. Can we see a rough version of this by the end of the week?

2. Barack Obama in a recut and re-edited trailer for *The Shining*—note that the Senator really sparked to this idea. Need this ASAP.

3. Speaking of Macintosh ads, maybe we could do a side by side version of the Mac Guy and the PC Guy ads, with Senator Clinton as whichever one she is. Ask younger staffers who they see her as. Report back on what each staffer said. Give me a hard copy.

4. Some people suggested morphing the Senator's face on top of various other faces in movie clips. This idea needs to be fleshed out. We need to avoid any use of copyrighted material, of course, and in general the idea of morphing Senator Clinton's face onto Princess Leia's face is a good one, though some concerns were raised about the potential Darth Vader variation that may be inspired by this. Needs work.

5. LonelySenator60. Like it very much. Possible to do this as a daily post?

These are the five top ideas that we generated before the lamp incident, which, again, really was an accident that occurred due to a too-enthusiastic and supportive rallying cheer by the Senator. The lamp incident came right after a suggestion by the former director of internet strategy for the campaign that she just talk directly and honestly into a webcam.

Some great ideas were generated in the meeting, and I know that you all appreciated the Senator's declaration of that session as a "safe space." Truly, as she put it, there are no "bad" ideas. The important thing is to keep the creative juices flowing, to keep thinking "outside the box," and to remember that this is going to be a long, hard campaign and we're all going to have to think creatively. That said, there were some ideas that we all felt—not just the Senator, although she was the most vocal, which is appropriate—were just not in keeping with the current direction of the campaign. Suggestions to "loosen up" and "have fun with your image" and "be more flexible" were not terribly helpful in a discussion of how, exactly, we can leverage the AFLAC duck into an anti-Obama viral video.

The Senator really enjoys these "fun" sessions, and those of you who have worked with her in past campaigns know that she really values full and honest discussions.

The following employees have been terminated. Please see me ASAP to have your ID badges and key swipes deactivated: Tom R., Chris DeG., Marilyn Y., Johnny F., Martin P., Kelsey H., and Rick L.

Onward!

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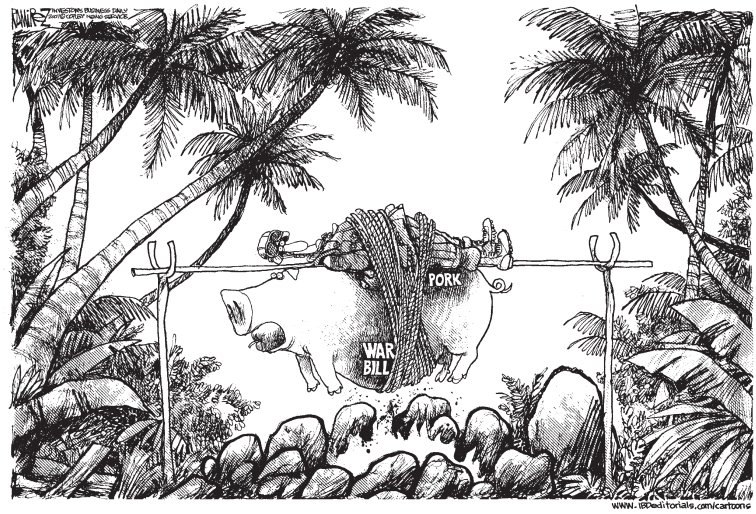
HELP !!!!

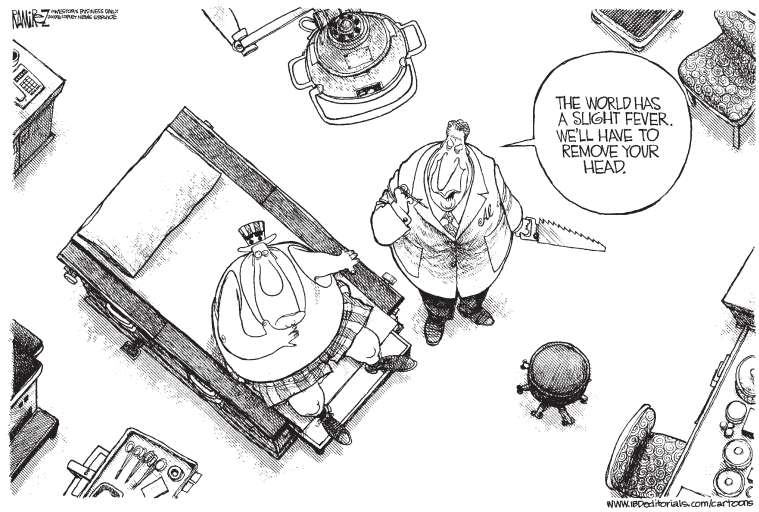
The Cheerleaders

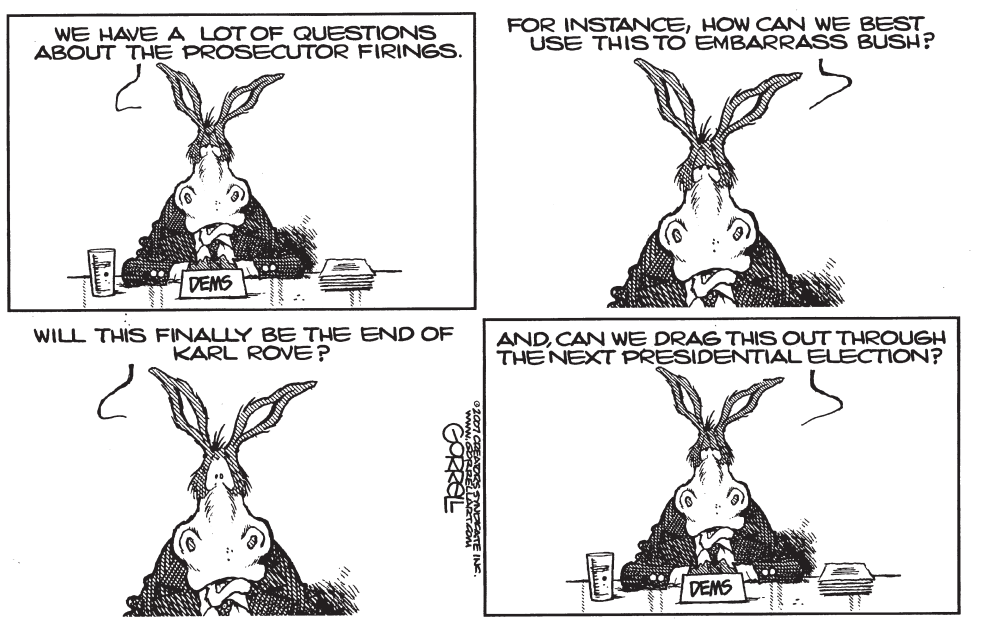
The more the surge infiltrates
Ramadi and Baghdad,
The more Murtha keeps moaning
Like someone who's been had;
Concurrently, Pelosi,
So chary with applause,
Recalls the fading Cheshire,
Smiling as it withdraws.

—W. H. von Dreele

"Sometimes I think Rome is getting too multicultural."






WE HAVE A LOT OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PROSECUTOR FIRINGS.
DEMS
FOR INSTANCE, HOW CAN WE BEST USE THIS TO EMBARRASS BUSH?
WILL THIS FINALLY BE THE END OF KARL ROVE?
AND, CAN WE DRAG THIS OUT THROUGH THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?
DEMS

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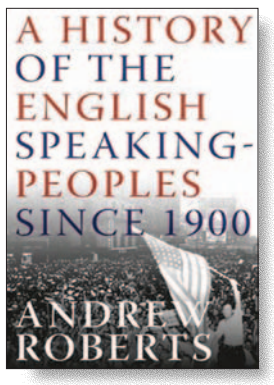
Anglospheres Old and New



A History of the English-Speaking Peoples Since 1900, by Andrew Roberts (HarperCollins, 752 pp., $35)

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

On the very eve of the period with which Andrew Roberts deals in his splendid new history of the English-speaking peoples, the American Republic and the British Empire almost went to war with each other. The 1895 Venezuela crisis was deliberately provoked by the U.S. in order to assert its primacy in the Western Hemisphere. This strategic forcefulness was strongly supported by Congress, which appropriated funds for a 900,000-strong U.S. army, and by American public opinion. Forty-two governors offered to raise troops for the war. In the course of the dispute Canada was openly threatened with invasion by senior American diplomats and military men. (The Canadians promptly declared themselves to be loyal British subjects and embraced an anti-Americanism to which many of them still cling.) The two great powers might well have been driven to hostilities by jingoism on both sides if the British prime minister, Lord Salisbury, the Cool Hand Luke of Victorian diplomacy, had not been determined to appease the Americans, however fiercely they resisted his surrender.

Salisbury's shrewd retreat paid immediate dividends in much warmer relations between the two governments. Britain supported the U.S. in the Spanish–American War, and the U.S. beneath a façade of neutrality took Britain's side in the Boer War, especially when early British defeats tempted the continental Europeans to intervene. It took longer for the two peoples to forget their quarrel. While Britain's colonies sent large numbers of volunteers to help the Mother Country in South Africa—war memorials in small towns across Canada and Australia list the lads who "answered the Empire's call"—U.S. public opinion supported the effort of 300 volunteers to help the Boers. All the same, the future was embodied by one such volunteer, a Rough Rider veteran, who wrote to Teddy Roosevelt: "I came over here meaning to join the Boers . . . but when I got here I found the Boers talked Dutch while the British talked English, so I joined the latter." Roosevelt himself wanted a united South Africa that spoke English—still a possibility, indeed closer today than in 1901. And in the war's aftermath, between 1901 and 1907, Britain and the U.S. signed a series of treaties essentially satisfying American grievances, establishing naval cooperation, and laying down the foundations of what became a full-fledged Anglo-American "special relationship" four decades later.

None of this would have happened had the British pursued their interests to the limit in the Venezuelan crisis. By quite deliberately appeasing the rising U.S., the British allied themselves and their colonies with the U.S. in world politics over the next century. Together these allies won two world wars, one cold war, two lesser wars in Korea and the Gulf, and innumerable smaller skirmishes. Two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan remain undecided. Vietnam—where Australia and New Zealand were America's only Anglophone allies—was the only war that was definitely lost.

Halfway through the last century, America became the senior partner in this informal alliance. Historians cite different dates as the moment when the baton was unmistakably transferred. But December 27, 1941, when John Curtin, the Australian prime minister, declared that "Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom," is as good a date as any. The brutality of Curtin's statement infuriated Churchill (not wholly unreasonably, since British forces were then fighting in Asia to defend Australia) but its realism was undeniable. America emerged from World War II as the leading power in the English-speaking world and thus as the main global superpower, challenged but not equaled by a Potemkin USSR.

"Les Anglo-Saxons" were united not just by the English language but by the Common Law. Still more links were listed by Churchill in 1943: "Common conceptions of what is right and decent, a marked regard for fair play, especially to the weak and poor, a stern sentiment of impartial justice and above all a love of personal freedom . . . these are the common conceptions on both sides of the ocean among the English-speaking peoples."

Translated into foreign policy, these common conceptions produced distinctive but similar attitudes. Both superpowers were supporters of free trade and parliamentary democracy. Both were liberal powers whose global influence helped to remove barriers to commerce, to create international rules, and to shape global institutions of a plainly liberal kind. Because the joint economic strength of both powers amounted to 40 percent or more of world GDP for most of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, they had the wealth to promote their values. Most interestingly of all, both took their liberal-democratic professions seriously and were prepared to advance them by arms even when their interests were not at stake—an unusual characteristic illustrated notably by the Royal Navy's suppression of the international slave trade and by America's Marshall Plan assistance to stricken post-war Europe.

This Anglo-dominance was a cause of resentment and aggression on the part of other great powers. Naturally, they dressed these emotions in arguments of principle. Roberts builds his book around four great ideological challenges to the dominance of the English-speaking world and its liberal values: Prussian militarism in 1914, Nazi-

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Fascist aggression in 1939, Soviet Communist aggression in the Cold War, and the Islamist jihad against the West today. His major chapters tell the story of how these conflicts were begun and (with the exception of the last) resolved. Other chapters deal with the intervening periods of drift and interregnum. The result is a clear and gripping historical narrative.

Since one or more of the English-speaking countries was involved directly or importantly in almost all of the great events of the 20th century, this book is in effect a world history of the last 100 years seen from an Anglo-centric viewpoint. Its almost encyclopedic character means that each chapter covers a multitude of topics, grave and gay, from the time it took to build the Empire State Building (one year) to the cost of the flowers placed outside Buckingham Palace in tribute to Princess Diana ($50 million). Some passages last a dozen pages, such as a revisionist account of Suez (Roberts argues persuasively that Eden was right and Eisenhower wrong); others a single paragraph, such as the first nonstop air crossing of the Atlantic in 1919 (not "Lucky" Lindbergh but the even luckier Brits, Captain John Alcock and Arthur Whitten-Brown, the latter of whom had to climb out onto the wings during the flight to clear them of ice). So, as well as offering a serious historical argument, Roberts gives his readers any number of what Thomas Beecham used to call in a musical context "lollipops." This is a highly enjoyable book, to be dipped into at bedtime, as well as an important one to be studied and pondered.

Roberts's message is essentially optimistic. The first three challenges to the English-speaking peoples, he points out, were formidable; all seemed, at times, to be within reach of their goals; all benefited initially from a reluctance of their intended victims to take them seriously; but all eventually lost because "les Anglo-Saxons," once aroused, were powerful and determined enough to crush them. Roberts argues that the fourth challenge of Islamist jihadism is still in that early stage when its intended victims in the Anglosphere (and the entire West) do not yet take it seriously and even attribute it to their own past crimes such as the Crusades. But he believes that the English-speaking peoples have the resources to defeat jihadism several times over and will rally to the standard when future atrocities reveal the cruelty and ambition of its sects. When that happens, victory will be assured, however long and hard the struggle—since, as Churchill once declared, "If we are together, nothing is impossible."

Unfortunately, as Roberts demonstrates, major obstacles persistently obstruct our getting or at least staying together. For the first three-quarters of the last century the largest such obstacle was America's anti-imperialism. This began as the result of a national myth that exaggerated the oppressive character of George III's rule and exalted America as a revolutionary power hostile to all imperialism but especially the British sort. It is an early instance of the foolishness of ideological theorizing. Imperialism and anti-imperialism are two sides of the same ideological concept—one that blinds its adherents to all the important distinctions between actual empires. It is rather as if there were a theoretical concept called "matrimonialism" which maintained that all marriages are identical. In fact the British Empire was a liberal one, very different from, say, that of the genocidal Belgian Congo. And though the U.S. was self-consciously anti-imperialist, its "grand strategy" (as outlined in Robert Kagan's recent book *Dangerous Nation*) bore a strong resemblance to Palmerston's definition of British imperial policy: "Trade without the flag where possible; trade with the flag where necessary." Japan? The Philippines? In other words, the U.S. and Britain were pursuing similar policies in practice, but their rhetoric and self-understanding were different and even opposed.

These theoretical disagreements were not strong enough to prevent the rapprochement that began in 1895 and was cemented by World War II. But they continued to poison otherwise good relations and to obscure common interests in the postwar world. For instance, Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech was initially denounced by politicians and newspapers as a trick to get the U.S. to save the tottering British Empire. This anti-imperialism had its last gasp in the Suez crisis, when the U.S. backed a Third World dictator against its two closest European allies, and effectively ended their careers as world powers.

Still, the effects of U.S. anti-imperialism linger. Because the demise of the last European empires coincided with the Vietnam War, the charge of imperialism was quickly turned against the U.S. itself. The flourishing of European anti-Americanism on the right as well as on the left has been fed by this resentful politics of turnabout. It is, so to speak, revenge for Suez. More significantly, since Americans still like to think they are anti-imperialists, the charge of imperialism has the effect of hobbling U.S. foreign policy: Either Washington shrinks from necessary interventions or it shrinks from staying long enough to ensure that difficult interventions succeed.

A second obstacle to Anglo unity is fully and worrisomely acknowledged by Roberts: the emergence in the English-speaking countries of a cultural self-hatred. This tendency to self-blame has deep roots. Roberts quotes Salisbury as saying in 1901: "England is, I believe, the only country in which, during a great war, eminent men write and speak as if they belonged to the enemy." This tendency has since spread to all the nations of the English-speaking world and, within those nations, far beyond the small elite of intellectuals previously in its grip. There is now a substantial *lumpenintelligentsia* of teachers, clergymen, and "knowledge workers" whose first reaction to almost any international controversy is to "blame America (or England, or Australia, etc.) first." It is a short step from this to holding culturally similar allies in less esteem than more exotic and utopian regimes from Moscow to Havana. Alliances based in part on cultural similarity of outlook cannot permanently coexist with cultural self-hatred.

It might be easier to recover from this malady were it not for a third problem: the appeal of competing identities. A few years ago all the English-speaking countries seemed to be spinning outwards into new identities based in part on geography: Britain was said to be becoming "European"; Australia embracing an "Asian" identity; the U.S. choosing a Hispanic-flavored multiculturalism; the Canadians constructing a "new Canadian nationalism" rooted in anti-Americanism, etc., etc. This boded ill for any prospect that the English-speaking world would continue to

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Ron Maxwell, Director (*Gettysburg*)
John Milius, Director, Director (*Red Dawn*)
Lou Reda, Producer (*Unsung Heroes of WWII*)
Gary Sinise, Actor (*Forrest Gump*)
Mark Valley, Actor (*Boston Legal*)

Gary Sinise

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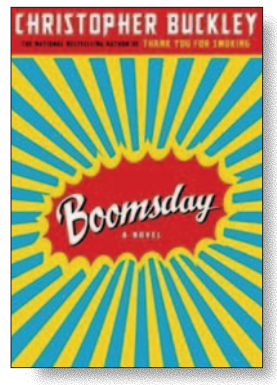
operate with its old cohesion. But with the sad exception of Britain—which is being absorbed against the popular will into a regulatory European state based on Roman Law—these fashions have gone into sharp reverse owing to 9/11, the challenge of jihadism, the worldwide communications revolution (which has raised culture above geography), and a humble election result in Australia that rejected an Asian identity in favor of an Australian one. These competing identities have not evaporated, however, and, given the cultural self-hatred mentioned above, they must be considered "down but not out."

Can the English-speaking peoples overcome these obstacles to continue playing their hegemonic role of the 20th century into the future? The prospects are not good, if we are thinking of the traditional definition of the English-speaking peoples—i.e., the U.S., Britain, and the "white Dominions." That suffers from the taints of nostalgia and racism. But another definition is to hand, namely the Anglosphere.

This is an evolution of the English-speaking world rather than a synonym for it. As much as from history it emerges from the communications revolution that has brought all peoples speaking the same tongue closer together. In such works as James C. Bennett's *The Anglosphere Challenge* (recently embraced as an *Ur*-text by Roberts), the Anglosphere includes nations such as India where the English language and culture may be emerging as the single most important element in a multiethnic society. It is perhaps the first monolingual multicultural identity in history and as such able to encompass diverse groups within itself. This civilizational identity is matched in practical politics by strategic developments such as an emerging Indo-U.S. military alliance. And, thanks to some geopolitical Fairy Godmother (who looks oddly like Osama bin Laden), almost all the candidates for Anglosphere membership have had war declared on them by the jihadists. So the fourth great challenge—jihadism—may deepen, extend, and prolong the life of the English-speaking world.

Wider still and wider / Shall thy bounds be set. But will it be an English-speaking world without England? **NR**

Exit Strategy



Boomsday,
by Christopher Buckley
(Twelve, 304 pp., $24.99)

ROSS DOUTHAT

In a provocative essay in *The Washington Monthly* two years ago, Christopher Lehmann set out to explain "why Americans can't write political fiction," and singled out Christopher Buckley as a case study. Though Buckley "now passes for the high-water mark of political satire in the nation's literature," Lehmann wrote, his books actually exemplify "a longstanding distemper in American political fiction"—a puritanical tendency that drives our writers to treat politics as little more than "a great ethical contaminant and task their protagonists with escaping its many perils with both their lives and their moral compasses intact."

Lehmann was right about the American political novel, which from Henry Adams down to Joe Klein has always been shot through with sanctimony, and a frontier country's naïve contempt for anything so Old World, so sordid and byzantine and inevitably compromised as *politics*. But he was wrong about Buckley, who is a rare beast in American letters: a political satirist who seems genuinely to *like* the morally compromised characters he writes about, and the bizarre inside-the-Beltway circus they inhabit.

Buckley's heroes aren't the poor innocents who get disillusioned by the corruption they uncover in high places, the Mr. Smiths who are shocked to discover that politicians aren't lily-pure. Instead, he prefers the people who know the system inside and out, and spend their lives gaming it—like Nick Naylor, the flack for the tobacco industry in *Thank You for Smoking*; or Rick Renard, the PR hustler who shows up in *Florence of Arabia* and various short stories; or Boyce "Shameless" Baylor, the unscrupulous counsel for the defense in *No Way to Treat a First Lady*. Indeed, the more idealistic a character in a Buckley novel, as a rule, the less you should trust him.

His latest book, *Boomsday*, is no exception. It's set in a near-future America that looks awfully familiar, with an entitlement system groaning under the weight of the Baby Boomers' looming retirement and military units "massively deployed around the world—in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Bosnia, Bolivia, Quebec, Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Comoro Islands." Among its sympathetic characters are such moral paragons as Terry Tucker, whose PR firm represents everyone from the Canadian Mink Ranchers Association to the U.S.-Korea (as in *North* Korea) Mutual Understanding and Promotion Society, and Randy Jepperson IV, a New England blueblood whose political career takes off once he fires all his loyal friends, replaces them with "expensive lobbyists and operatives from K Street; trade association sharks and hired guns," and beats a six-term senator named Bascombe Smithers (whose resemblance to Ted Kennedy is no doubt entirely coincidental) by spending $46 million of his inheritance on the campaign. "It worked out to $79 per vote," Buckley notes, without even a hint of disapproval.

Tucker's firm and Jepperson's political career both end up wedded to the ambitions of the novel's heroine, an angry young woman named Cassandra Devine who works in PR by day, and by night summons her generation to the barricades—via her blog, inevitably—to protest the Baby Boomers' appetite for government largesse. Eventually, she hits on the scheme that sets the plot in motion—a plan to offer the Boomers government incentives to kill themselves (or "Transition"), which Jepperson seizes

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on and attempts to ride all the way to the White House. The Boomer lobby, shockingly, agrees to go along with the proposal—or perhaps not so shockingly, since their willingness to back the option of (heavily) subsidized suicide for their members is conditional on Jepperson's support for, among other things, a cosmetic-surgery subsidy, a "cost defrayal" to help creaky Boomers afford Segways, a "federal acid-reflux initiative," increased funding for "grandchild day care," and "a sure-to-be-controversial subsidy for giant flat-screen plasma TVs (for Boomers with deteriorating eyesight)."

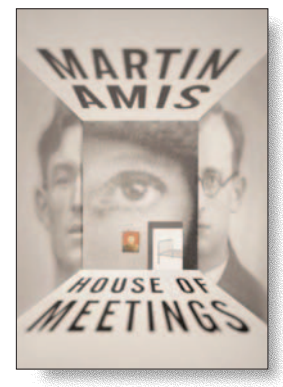
With the Boomers thus bought off, the Transitioning bill's chief obstacles are the plain-spoken, highly unpopular president, Riley Peacham, and his Machiavellian chief of staff (again, any resemblance to members of the current administration is entirely coincidental); the Religious Right pooh-bah Gideon Payne, a chubby, unctuous fellow who may or may not have offed his own mother; and Cassandra's estranged father, a Peacham donor and an unscrupulous software tycoon. Inevitably, the whole debate ends up in the hands of a bipartisan commission, that "vermiform appendix to the body politic," which—Buckley notes in a long, spot-on aside—exists to issue eminently ignorable recommendations on such topics as whether "the United States is about to run out of molybdenum, or be overcome by bacteria emanating from geese," or why the CIA "failed to detect the Cold War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Tehran embassy takeover," and so forth, down through 9/11, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and "Operation Oh S**t, Now What?"

As in any Buckley novel, it's these throwaway moments that make the satire sing. There's the list of interest groups that line up to saddle the proposed Transitioning legislation with pork—including the Mortuary Association of North America (MANA) and the Association for the Economic Enhancement of Persons Born Between 1946 and 1964 ("AEEPBB46-64, one of the more unwieldy lobby acronyms, but still not an organization to be trifled with"). There's "Spider Repellent," the all-too-plausible software program on which Cassandra's dad has made a killing: It finds all the online references to any scandal you've been involved in and deletes them, so that a Google search for your name and "prostitute" or "crack cocaine" will come up empty. There's the acronym for Payne's Religious Right organization, the Society for the Protection of Every Ribonucleic Molecule (figure it out yourself), and the passing reference to "a small but powerful cabal calling themselves the geocons," who are "clamoring for U.S. military intervention in Tahiti, Taiwan, Tashkent, Tibet, and any other country whose name [begins] with the letter T." (Conservative readers accustomed to Buckley's sendups of Clinton-era follies may find that these arrows hit rather close to home.)

She's advocating the mass suicide of millions of America's Boomers, but in the context of the novel this makes her an idealist.

The only minor spot on the satirical apple is Cassandra Devine herself, who is rather too spotless for my taste. Sure, she's advocating the mass suicide of millions of America's Boomers, but in the context of the novel this makes her an idealist, and while Buckley gives her a PR day job and gently mocks her passion (her mother catches her reading *The Fountainhead*, for instance), he leaves her personality essentially untempered by the cynicism that makes most of his characters so delightful. Fortunately, there's Tucker and Jepperson and the rest of the rogues' gallery to pick up the slack, and by the end of the book Cassandra does seem modestly more educated about the ways and means of Washington, and modestly less priggish about politics. But after *Florence of Arabia*, this makes two Buckley novels in a row that confined their flacks and hacks and climbers to supporting parts, and put a lady idealist front and center. If he wants to keep writing about the women of Washington, more power to him, but here's hoping that his next heroine is a shill for Halliburton, and proud of it. **NR**

Inside the Nightmare



House of Meetings,
by Martin Amis
(Knopf, 256 pp., $23)

PAUL HOLLANDER

I was eager to read and review this novel, because of my interest in the topic and setting (Soviet society and the Gulag) and because of the rave review it elicited from the *New York Times*'s Michiko Kakutani, whose no-nonsense critical judgments I usually respect and find congenial. I also looked forward to reading it because I found Amis's *Koba the Dread* an unusual and respectable nonfiction attempt to confront the horrors of Soviet totalitarianism and Western responses to it. I appreciated his interest all the more since it contrasted so sharply with the indifference of Western writers towards these Communist societies, even though they provide superb raw material for grasping the vital connections between the personal and the political and the impact of social forces on individual lives. I further shared with Amis an admiration of Saul Bellow and Vladimir Nabokov. All these circumstances converged to create high expectations.

It is well known that works of fiction are nurtured by a blend of experience and imagination to which good writers have access. It is, of course, impossible to spec-

Mr. Hollander is the author most recently of *The End of Commitment: Intellectuals, Revolutionaries, and Political Morality*.

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Fri./Aug. 3	Ketchikan, AK	7:00AM	1:00PM	afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Sat./Aug. 4	Victoria, B.C.	6:00PM	Midnight	morning seminar afternoon seminar
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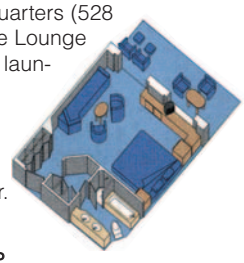

DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (528 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and personal concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry-cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.

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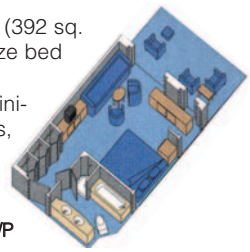

SUPERIOR SUITE Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.

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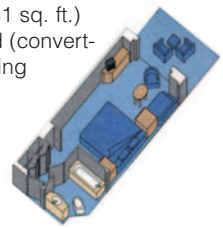

DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.

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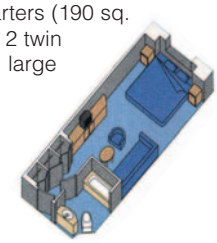

LARGE OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (190 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.

JUST THREE LEFT!

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ify the proportions or weight each requires for a great work of fiction to emerge. Many writers manage to write admirable works of fiction situated in settings of which they know little from personal experience. Nonetheless writers seem to do better when they enrich what is known to them from personal experience with their imagination, instead of attempting to chart a largely unknown social and human landscape, or one they know only from secondary sources. It is one of the paradoxes of producing memorable and enduring fiction that it must have profound, if implicit, roots in closely apprehended social and human realities from which the creative imagination can take flight.

Amis, impressively familiar with many facts and features of both Soviet society and post-Soviet Russia, knows more than enough to write a book such as *Koba the Dread*, but not quite enough to write a completely persuasive work of fiction situated in the same region. In this novel he makes good use of what he knows about the Soviet system and Russia and succeeds in acquainting the reader with the bleak social-political background against which the story unfolds. He also illuminates the historical connections between the Soviet system and the Russian past, and even the national character, which includes "the freedom from all responsibility and scruple, the energetic championship of views and beliefs that are not only irreconcilable but also mutually exclusive, the weakness for a humor of squalor and cynicism, the tendency to speak most passionately when being most insincere, and the thirst for abstract argument . . . at unlikely moments—say, in the middle of a prison stampede . . . or in the most sepulchral phase of a terror famine."

He further observes that in Russia for hundreds of years "resentments and jealousies were resolved . . . [by] denunciation and arrest," that "permanent desperation" is a "feature of national life," and that "when it comes to death . . . Russia remains a land of opportunity." Few among those who grew up in that country would seriously dispute these observations. This appropriately gloomy background for a tragic love story takes the reader, in a somewhat jumpy fashion, from World War II to the postwar Gulag, to post-Communist Russia, and even, in a few glimpses, to the United States, where the narrator spends an undetermined amount of time late in his life.

The central, and purposefully disjointed, love story concerns the narrator and his brother, who compete, over a very long time, for the same woman (who is married to the brother). They also share the experience of the Gulag and, for narrative convenience, are in the same camp. They are, needless to say, innocent of any genuine wrongdoing. The "House of Meetings" is the hut the post-Stalin authorities provide for conjugal visits, in which sexual and emotional fulfillment sadly eludes the prisoners. Sex, its real and illusory gratifications and abuses (rape prominently included), is a major theme throughout. Amis seems to suggest that there is a connection between obsessive sexual preoccupations and life in an oppressive political system—a theme also prominent in the novels of Czech author Milan Kundera.

The narrative is convincing when it offers insights and sketches of Soviet and Russian life but far less satisfactory in the department of human character and relationships. There is something contrived about the story, its presentation (a long letter to the stepdaughter of the narrator), and its major turning points. Moreover, despite the author's efforts, the characters do not readily come to life and remain poorly defined. The style does not help either, as it ranges from words that send the reader to the dictionary, to unnecessarily complex and obscure formulations, and especially a straining for poetic effect. We learn of the central female character that "her blushes lasted for half an hour, and the great shaft of her throat was like an aquarium of shifting blues and crimsons." Has anybody ever seen such a throat or can we imagine one? Elsewhere "her pallor: The flesh had the numb glisten of white chocolate—but with the promise of other tints in it, yellow, beige, brown, rose." A minor character's teeth change color "from almond flesh to an almond's woody husk." These stylistic excesses may be dismissed as minor irritants but they substantially contribute to the shaky authenticity of the whole narrative.

Another problem is that each of the major protagonists (all Russian) commands a uniformly high level of eloquence and erudition often difficult to credit and associate with his background. Zoya (the central female character) says at one point, "I dye the s**t out of it [her hair] once a week. Oh, I'm gray. Like Voltaire." Is Voltaire a ready point of reference for this woman?

On the other hand. the author's insight into the differences between Western and Soviet/Russian society and their impact on personal lives is among the novel's strengths. He writes: "In America, with divorce achieved, the midlifer can expect to be more recreational, more discretionary. He can almost design the sort of crisis he is going to have: motorbike, teenage girlfriend, vegetarianism, jogging, sports car . . . cocaine, crash diet, powerboat, new baby, religion, hair transplant. Over here, now, there's no angling for your male midlife crisis. It is brought to you and it is always the same thing. It is death."

Finally I must address the gulf between my assessment and that of Kakutani. I certainly concur with her that "many of the most compelling parts of this novel consist of the narrator's straightforward description of life at Norlag [the particular camp]." But I strongly dissent from the propositions that this is "a novel that subjugates his [Amis's] penchant for postmodern pyrotechnics to the demands of the story at hand" and that Amis depicts his characters "with an economy of language" (unlike that in an earlier "overwritten" novel).

Although much of the novel portrays lives crushed and deformed by the forces of history and an irrationally repressive society there is also a more elusive, romantic message. Thus at the end of the story the narrator's brother (looking back upon his and his brother's lives) writes: "The hunger and the cold and the fear and the boredom and the oceanic weariness—that was general, standard-issue . . . off the rack. What I am referring to is the destiny made to measure. Something was designed inside us, blending with what was already there." These musings suggest that the fate of these individuals was not so much determined by the conditions imposed by their social setting and the political system as by some unknown and undefined "destiny" inside them. It is an ambiguous and mystifying idea that further confounds the message of this ambitious but problematic book. **NR**

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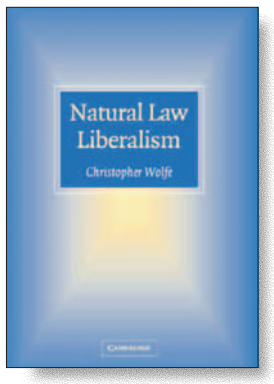

Natural Law Liberalism,
by Christopher Wolfe
(Cambridge, 268 pp., $75)

RYAN T. ANDERSON

Pick your fight: the "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West, or the "clash of orthodoxies" between secular liberals and religious believers. To read much these days is to be assured that never has the world been more divided, or our nation so polarized.

Central to Western political liberalism is the notion that disagreement can be resolved through common deliberation—and that representative constitutional democracy is the best institution for such deliberation. This makes us think that any kind of clash can be solved through rational discussion of the truths we share. At the same time, however, our modern system is founded on skepticism about the ability of people and their governments to define and enforce a universal vision of the good life. This makes us think that there *aren't* any real truths to be shared.

It is in response to such worries that Christopher Wolfe has written his new book, *Natural Law Liberalism*. Wolfe is a Marquette University political scientist

Mr. Anderson is a junior fellow at *First Things*. He is also the assistant director of the Program on Bioethics and Human Dignity at the Witherspoon Institute of Princeton, N.J.

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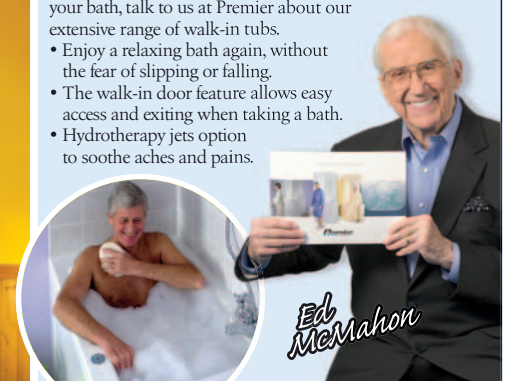

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who focused his early work on constitutional interpretation and judicial activism. He founded the American Public Philosophy Institute to support the efforts of such thinkers as Robert P. George, Russell Hittinger, and Hadley Arkes, who have been working to rearticulate the natural-law foundations of political life. *Natural Law Liberalism* is Wolfe's contribution to the effort.

By liberalism, Wolfe means the whole range of modern political thought, from the early Enlightenment through the American Founding—the philosophical theory of government that emphasizes human equality, personal liberty, individual rights, participatory government, and the rule of law. And natural law, as Wolfe conceives it, is the long Western tradition of reflection on the nature of human flourishing and the rational principles that can guide human action and choice. His thesis is simple: If political liberalism is to justify itself at home and abroad, it must return to the classical tradition of Western thought and embrace natural-law theory as the account of its foundations.

The book's argument has three parts. Wolfe begins by exposing the weaknesses of modern theories grounded in skepticism about the good life or in personal autonomy. Then he traces the historical development of liberalism and natural-law theory, showing how these traditions are compatible and mutually reinforcing. He ends with a brief sketch of natural-law liberalism, concluding that liberals should "ground their liberalism in natural-law philosophy," while "natural lawyers should be liberals."

Wolfe aims his criticism at several contemporary liberal theorists: John Rawls, Stephen Macedo, Amy Gutmann, Ronald Dworkin, and Joseph Raz. Some of these thinkers argue that there are purely political values that justify liberal democracy. These can be shared by all citizens, whatever their distinctive views about the good life, and the state must remain neutral between more comprehensive competing theories of human flourishing.

The other liberal theorists are—like natural-law thinkers—willing to ground political liberalism in direct appeals to the nature of human flourishing, but they define that flourishing in terms of autonomy and self-determination. Accordingly, they believe that the role of government is to secure the conditions for people to choose whatever they consider good. Think of the Supreme Court's infamous 1992 "mystery" passage in *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey*: "At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life."

Contemporary liberals propound rules of engagement and procedures for preserving reciprocity and fairness without ever defending the value of these principles in the first place.

Wolfe contends that both of these approaches fail. He argues, for instance, that liberal professions of neutrality smuggle in question-begging assumptions that favor left-wing policy on contested moral issues—in other words, "neutrality liberalism" loads the dice by covertly appealing to the liberals' own preferred conceptions of public reason, and therefore of human nature. In such questions as, e.g., the value of unborn human life or the public recognition of same-sex unions, the appeal to political neutrality results in an affirmation of the partisan liberal view.

But perhaps most damning is Wolfe's demonstration that none of these theorists could persuade an outsider to embrace Western classical liberalism. They cannot provide a defense of liberal ideals, institutions, or procedures that would be satisfactory to someone who didn't already accept them. Contemporary liberals propound rules of engagement and procedures for preserving reciprocity, fairness, and "full and equal citizenship" without ever defending the value of these principles in the first place. Who besides committed liberals will find this convincing? How will this convert someone on the other side of the "clash of civilizations" to become a political liberal? And how do these theories provide a framework for settling the issues at stake in the "clash of orthodoxies"?

This is where Wolfe believes a liberalism grounded in the natural law can make significant contributions. He identifies the centrality of human reason and its ability to know the truth as foundational principles for natural-law philosophy. The objectivity of justice and value is grounded in the intellect's ability to perceive the goods of human nature as reasons for action that direct one toward real fulfill-

THE DEATH OF HOLOFERNES

A hand that clutches like a giant claw,
Gripping the crimson curtain in its rage
And everywhere a sudden rain of blood
Darkening the maps and implements of war:
The tent of Holofernes like a cage
Strewn with vile offal, goblets on the ground,
Where his besotted palace guards lie sprawled
And snore, oblivious of their murdered lord.

The sword of Judith hanging in the air
Like lightning in a blinding after flash,
Obliterating the proud battle feast;
As on the rampart, the victorious maid
Holds up to Israel the fiendish head
They feared, the eyes still blinking back at death.

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

from the Spanish of Lope de Vega

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ment. It is within this framework that liberalism's core principles are most compelling.

Political equality, for example, is most securely based on the natural-law understanding of human beings as free and rational. Despite variations of skill and strength, our basic capacity to act on reasons is the foundation for treating all humans with equal respect. There are no natural superiors or inferiors, there is no ruling class or ruled class—it is because citizens can grasp reasons for action and constitute themselves by free choice that justice requires the consent and participation of the governed.

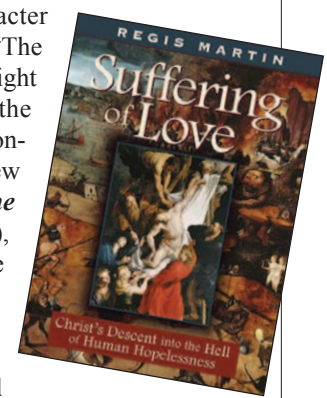
Natural-law philosophy also provides a foundation for human rights, when rights are understood as protecting basic human well-being. So, for example, the right to speech is best understood as protecting the goods enabled by honest communication—goods such as knowledge, friendship, and health. This conception of rights also provides the framework for determining which forms of speech truly fall within the protections of the right: Deceptive speech and hate speech, for example, serve no goods and thus don't deserve protection (though prudence may demand that we limit the power of government to suppress even these types of speech). Indeed, the natural-law tradition supports strong government in order to provide the necessary conditions for flourishing—while also demanding limited government to respect the primacy of individuals and their communities in determining themselves.

Besides offering stronger foundations for liberalism, natural law provides important correctives to modern thought. Most important, Wolfe believes, is a proper understanding of the state's role in shaping citizens' lives: Modern liberal claims notwithstanding, the *polis* inevitably teaches and forms the character of its citizens. Given that the goods of human nature are rationally knowable, the state should do what it can, in a limited and subsidiary fashion, to promote its citizens' flourishing. Other natural-law correctives to bad modern theories include the importance of religion as an aspect of human well-being and the role of the family as the pre-political society that gives rise to political community.

Natural Law Liberalism is a scholarly discussion of intricate philosophical theories of government—not quite for the casual reader. As for specialists in the field, they are likely to find the book dated. Its first half comprises articles published during the 1990s. (Did we really need another critique of Rawls's now well-known shortcomings?) The second half of the book is a general overview of liberalism and natural law, adding little to the work of John Finnis's *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (1980) and Robert P. George's *Making Men Moral* (1993).

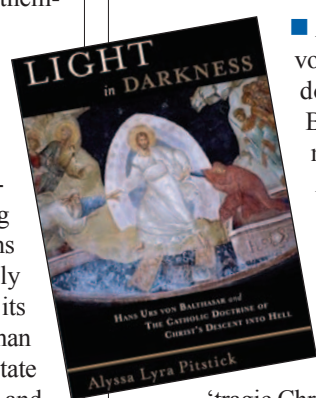
The book will, however, make a good introduction for students of political philosophy who are unsatisfied with mainstream liberalism's responses to the clashes of our time—and who wish to explore alternative conceptions more solidly founded on reason and human flourishing. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■



"THERE can be no more hope," says a character in one of Elie Wiesel's Holocaust novels. "The Messiah came and the executioner goes right on executing. The Messiah came and the world is a vast slaughterhouse." The charge is brutally honest, and—by man—unanswerable. But in his powerful new book ***The Suffering of Love: Christ's Descent into the Hell of Human Hopelessness*** (Ignatius, 254 pp., $16.95), Catholic theologian Regis Martin finds an answer in the God who was forsaken by God. In the Holocaust, Martin writes, "we now see more clearly the centrality of the Cross in the work of the Incarnation"—because "only the Cross truly fashions a convincing link between God and man, especially the man who suffers without apparent meaning or hope."

The most ecumenical of Christian creeds affirm that Christ descended into Hell. In this doctrine Martin sees Christ—a Jewish man and the eternal Word—reduced to wordless silence in "complete vulnerability," in "solidarity with numberless silent victims." The reality of human suffering and lostness is within the very heart of the Trinity, for eternity; this solidarity in hopelessness suggests also a solidarity in hope—that somehow we men may also be unified with God in the heart of His joy and peace.



■ A crucial resource for Martin is the late Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–88), who did a great deal to revive interest in the doctrine of Christ's descent into Hell. It should be noted that Balthasar's work on this particular issue has been paid the compliment of a massive dissent, in the form of the recently published ***Light in Darkness: Hans Urs von Balthasar and the Catholic Doctrine of Christ's Descent into Hell*** (Eerdmans, 458 pp., $36), by Alyssa Lyra Pitstick. The author contends that Balthasar has departed from the traditional understanding of this doctrine, in which Christ's descent was seen more as a part of the victory of Easter Sunday than as a part of the crushing defeat of Good Friday: "The truth of Christ's descent stands over against any 'tragic Christianity,' any seeking of redemption in God-abandonment as such, any attempt to breed the nihilism of the last century with holy death to selfishness." This book—based on the author's doctoral dissertation—is difficult and academic, not welcoming to the non-specialist. But it will give the curious reader some insight into how the Christian intellect has grappled, over the centuries, with its central mystery—a God who emptied himself, a God without sin who nonetheless became sin, to deliver mankind from evil.

—MICHAEL POTEMRA

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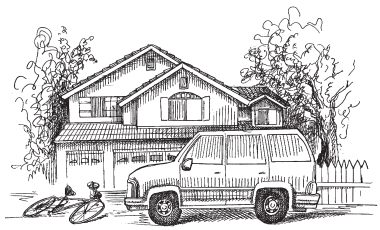
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Keep Hope Alight!



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

> Champagne with the sweet . . . Napoleon with coffee. And cigarettes. I had been thinking about cigarettes all day. These were Benson & Hedges No. 5 . . . and I had been smoking those black French things to save money.
>
> —Robert A. Heinlein, *Glory Road*

Not a bad choice. Not very surprising, either, that Heinlein, an American, used a British brand of smokes to emphasize the unexpected classiness of that dinner in the middle of nowhere.

When first getting acquainted with cigarettes, I took the opposite view. A classy smoke in provincial England circa 1960 was a Chesterfield or a Tareyton—anything American. Our fathers smoked Senior Service or Players. Since smoking was not yet a sign of rebellion in itself, to differentiate oneself from one's boring elders one had to go for the exotic.

That was back in the Cigarette Age, which had begun a half century or so before. Cigarettes were part of the everyday world back then. The whole business of smoking was knitted into the fabric of life. Your brand of cigarette was a social marker, from the workingman's Woodbine ("No Frills. No Fuss. Like Woodbine. Like You," promised the ad) all the way up to the "Morland Specials" that James Bond had hand-made to his own recipe by a bespoke tobacconist in St. James. There were specialty stores, like the House of Bewlay chain founded by the father of actor Patrick Allen. There were paraphernalia—lighters, ashtrays, holders, cases, boxes, roll-your-own kits and devices. There were national prejudices, like the one—widely shared in the Anglosphere—against "those black French things." On the London Underground, just one car in four was set aside for those odd people who did not smoke. Men had their portraits painted holding a cigarette—the great operatic tenor Enrico Caruso, for example, in the 1918 Styka portrait.

Cigarette smoking was a world, a subculture, an economy, a study. Now, of course, all that has been swept away, leaving only pathetic huddles of three or four smokers on the sidewalk outside office buildings, and some fringe activity of the "lifestyle statement" type, associated mainly with cigars. The age of promiscuous smoking has passed.

Like Heinlein's hero, I have been thinking about cigarettes. This is in reaction to the news that Sen. Barack Obama, one of our current candidates in the 2008 presidential race, is a cigarette smoker. In his *60 Minutes* interview Senator Obama claimed to have kicked the habit, but that is a claim any smoker or ex-smoker will smile at. Just as there are no ex-Marines, there are no ex-smokers. You may retire from active service, but if you ever smoked, you are a smoker, and always will be. *Semper fi.*

Should President Obama lapse under the pressures of office, I suppose he will maintain the Oval Office as a smoke-free zone, slipping out onto the Truman Balcony for a quick puff, as Laura Bush is said to do. The last president to smoke cigarettes in the White House was Lyndon Johnson, I believe. It is the presidential wives—Pat Nixon, Betty Ford, Nancy Reagan, and Laura Bush—who have kept the weed alight.

Senator Obama smokes—or (ha!) smoked—Marlboros, I believe. Laura Bush favors Kents. My own last brands of choice, before I reluctantly quit in the cause of domestic harmony at the birth of my first child, were Belair in the U.S., Silk Cut in the U.K. The first of these is a menthol brand, the second not; I cannot explain this. Long before that, in the remote bohemian past, I rolled my own, like George Orwell. It was an affectation, but a very satisfying one—a skill, actually, and an extra occupation for the hands during conversation.

How I miss smoking! The appeal of the habit goes very deep. Chimps, our nearest relatives in the animal kingdom, will smoke if given the chance. Ex-smokers (but see above) experience occasional smoking dreams to the end of their lives. Testimonials to the benefits of smoking were once common, and phrased in the loftiest terms. Lin Yutang, in *The Importance of Living*, argued that the protests of nonsmokers should be ignored, since the discomfort inflicted on them by smokers was merely physical, while the discomfort inflicted on smokers by smoking bans was *spiritual*. (A popular brand of cigarettes in Taiwan during the 1970s was *Chang Shou*, which means "long life.")

Dr. Lin's disdain for the merely physical disadvantages of cigarette smoking was widely shared. Who wants to live forever? Orwell, who smoked the coarsest shag he could find, had suffered from TB since childhood. The British socialist politician Michael Foot was, I learn from Kenneth Morgan's new biography, a lifelong asthmatic, yet maintained a three-pack-a-day habit—and is still with us at age 93. Giants walked the earth in those days.

Nonsmokers were in any case poor role models. Their leading representative was Adolf Hitler, who naturally saw the whole thing in racial terms. Tobacco was, he said, "the wrath of the Red Man against the White Man for having been given hard liquor." On the Allied side of WWII, Chiang Kai-shek was of the same kidney (or lung). At his first meeting with Mao Tse-tung in 1945, Chiang noted Mao's chainsmoking, and took it as a sign of a weak personality—a serious, perhaps fatal, underestimation. Also on the Allied side, there was Field Marshal Montgomery, who did not permit smoking in his presence, and once made Ike stub out his Lucky Strike.

The tabagophobia of Hitler, Chiang, and Monty is now routine, the received wisdom of our age. So much the worse for us. This life is a vale of tears, and if you think you can get through it without some occasional self-medication, you are kidding yourself. A pharmacist friend recently grumbled to me about the difficulty of filling prescriptions for Wellbutrin, a mild anti-depressant: "The warehouse keeps running out." Are a lot of people taking this drug then? I asked. "You kidding? The whole [expletive] town's taking it!" Oh, dear. Citizens, follow Nature's way! Warehouses never run out of cigarettes. **NR**

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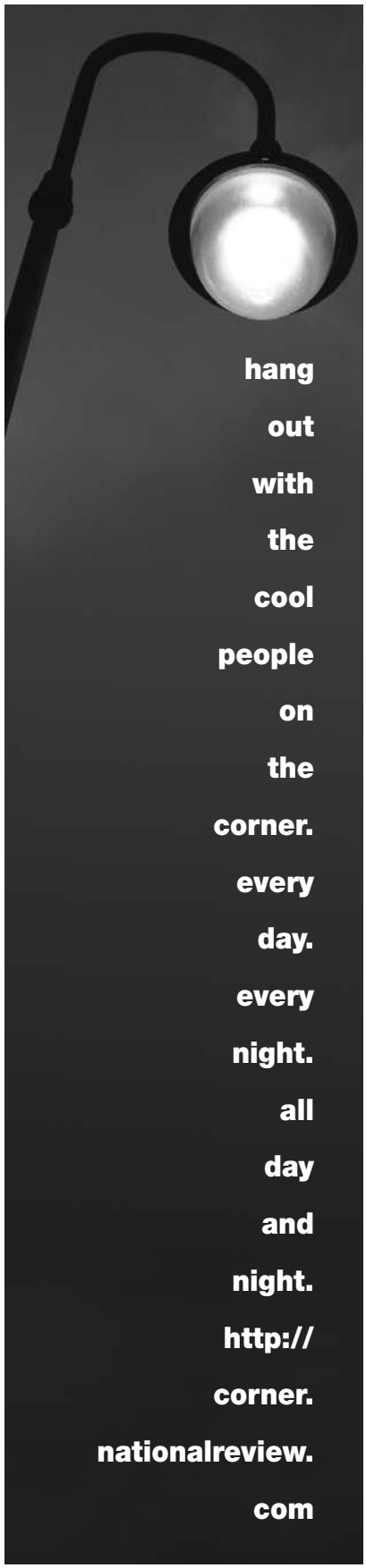

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Libby's Legacy

NEW YORK, MARCH 9

THE Libby trial undermines a lot of easygoing postulates about public figures. A virginal reaction to Mr. Libby's conviction, given over the telephone by a journalist of acute judgment, was as follows: "It is almost impossible to believe that we are talking about a graduate of Columbia Law School with a distinguished record who, in middle age, lies flat-out, under oath, several times, to a grand jury."

The comment assumes that there is no question but that Libby was guilty. The droned reaffirmation of his innocence, done outside the courtroom by Libby's lawyer, did not have the effect of suggesting that Libby was in fact not guilty. It had the effect of reinforcing the stunned surprise of my commentator. As the minutes ticked on between the return of the jurors to the courtroom and the enunciation of their findings, the viewing public underwent a most dramatic experience: of the kind of confidence a jury can generate.

The contrast, of course, was with the jury that found O. J. Simpson not guilty. In that case, after more than eight months of trial, every unlocked mind in America knew that O. J. was guilty. The jurors deliberated for less than four hours and declared him not guilty.

In the case of Libby, the public did not, during the eight-week trial, conclude unquestioningly that he was guilty or that he was innocent. But after the jury spoke, and after one or two jurors submitted to questions from the press, it became as obvious that Libby was guilty as it had been obvious that O. J. was guilty, both defendants examined by the same system.

So we are left with speculation on the matter of Libby's future. Here is one prediction, proffered as confidently as that the sun will rise tomorrow. There will not be a retrial—what is there left to probe? What may be left open is matters of law, and these questions will be raised in a court of appeals, not in a criminal court before a jury. And what questions would be considered, under appeal?

Those that are of supreme public interest do not, unfortunately, issue usefully from the experience of the Libby trial. What is in suspense is the culture of journalists' relationships with informants. A 1972 decision by the Supreme Court (*Branzburg* v. *Hayes*) held that a reporter may be questioned even about information he was given confidentially, on the understanding that its source would never be disclosed.

In the years since that court decision, several reporters have gone to jail to solemnify their promises to their informant. The Libby case depended heavily on witnesses who were journalists, declaring to the jurors what words they had exchanged with the defendant. How many people who, under the old dispensation, would have been willing to talk to newsmen, will now not be willing? We cannot say more than that there will be a lot of them. And the old primacy of the press will not be acknowledged in practice, as before.

We have then also to wonder about cooperation with the agents of justice by federal officials who reflect on the experience of Mr. Libby. The refusal by someone called before a grand jury to give information through the device of pleading the Fifth Amendment has been widely thought an undignified usurpation of an important right—done, for the most part, by people who have something to hide.

How will that change? Mr. Libby was free to lie for his country up until his experience with justice at the hands of an inflamed prosecutor. How much will it cost the country to encourage the isolation of the class of governors from the class of inquiring journalists?

On the question "Should Libby be pardoned?" surely the answer is yes, since it was wrong in the first place to prosecute him, whose principal crime was to rely on atrophied conventions.

Rallying the Protesters

NEW YORK, MARCH 13

THE most touching declamation of the past period was by Iraq's prime minister. Nouri al-Maliki turned to his fellow Middle Eastern leaders gathered in Baghdad and said: "Confrontation of terrorism, dear brothers, requires ceasing any form of financial and media support and religious cover, as well as logistical support and provision of arms and men that would turn out to be explosive tools killing our children, women, and elders and bombing our mosques and churches."

It is the crowning paradox in the war of the insurgents that there is so little criticism of their activity by the people they kill, or try to kill.

It's hard to come up with comparisons, but we can turn to lynchings in the South in the post–Civil War years. The Tuskegee Institute records that in the 70 years after 1882, 3,400 blacks were lynched. The figure is horrifying. But even so, it reduces to approximately 50 slaughters per year. Fifty killings in Iraq would be the work not of one year but of one week, or one weekend. How is it that slaughter on such a scale isn't more pointedly resented by the victims and their families and their tribes?

Everyone who met in Baghdad, representing 13 nations—besides Middle Eastern countries, the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China sent delegations—joined in deploring the bloodshed, but reactions to the insurgents' ravages are on the order of reactions to occasional electrical failures in America. One deplores these, and waits a bit, and the electricity comes back on, and we dismiss the episodes as simply attritions of modern life.

So calloused are the people of Iraq that they were able to laugh off an incident during the two-day meeting. Two mortar shells landed nearby while the conversations deploring random violence were going on. As the *New York*

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Times reported, one participant "told reporters after the conference that the shells landed while he was speaking, shortly before lunch. 'We assured them this was normal,' Mr. Zebari [Iraq's foreign minister] said with a smile. 'I thought, "This is bad targeting." I was surprised there weren't more.'"

This is a musical-comedy approach to people being killed by zealots who are receiving their afflatus from Allah (reportedly) and their arms (mostly) from Iran. It goes on month after month after month: men and women dying for peace and trying to make peace, but confounded by the bloody determination of the insurgents. If, finally, the whole of the United States could be inflamed by a rate of 50 lynchings per year, one would hope that an area of 27 million people would be inflamed by 50,000 deaths per year. But how are they to express themselves?

The U.S. has, at least, complained of the participation of Iran in the terror. We know that it is relatively easy to manufacture improvised weapons to festoon along highways and byways. But the explosives being used are increasingly sophisticated and can't be attributed to volunteer young terrorists out for an afternoon's play.

The very first and most important step that needs taking is a denunciation of the tactic by Islamic leaders. Many, in the past six years, have issued routine pronouncements against terrorist bombings. But we have yet to hear the kind of denunciations one finally got from the Christian community over the genocide of Adolf Hitler.

There was at least the excuse, back then, that we could not yet document the long, hideous reach of the Gestapo. But all the data needed are here already, about the success of the insurgents and the corresponding inertia of the faithful of Iraq, an inertia that issues from a combination of fatalism and fear. The Iraqi who protests and documents an act of the insurgents runs the risk of being the insurgency's next victim.

Here is an important objective of the organs of moral concern. They can't be successful without the cooperation of the Sunni and Shiite leaders, who bear an enormous responsibility to protest what sometimes seems almost a matter of indifference to them.

A Republic, If You Can Keep It

NEW YORK, MARCH 16

NEWS comes in from Iowa and New Hampshire, and the other day one heard a poignant story. It is about John McCain, campaigning yet again for president. There are reasons that might be given non-invidiously for saying no to McCain, primary among them his age. If he were elected, he would take the oath of office at age 72, and a recent poll tells us that no segment of the American electorate wants anyone that old as president. But it wasn't his age that caused the dissatisfaction with him at the assembly in question. It was, curses, the war in Iraq.

This was a company of GOP voters. They stood by affably when McCain ripped up the standard Democratic diversions, but showed no enthusiasm for the trenchant Republican bidding for their support. The applause was polite but punctilious. Then along came Rudy Giuliani, who dived into the Iraq question as if it was a 9/11 bomber come into his sights. The enthusiasm was enormous.

It has become open-and-shut. There are many voters who do not want simply to drop the curtain on Iraq. But the number displaying acquiescence in, let alone enthusiasm for, more of the same is approaching zero. Giuliani, while ferocious in his determination to defeat terrorists, distances himself from the Bush administration's optimistic predictions.

I think there is a sense in the land that the Iraqi people are not doing their part. It's true that Mr. al-Maliki has several times insisted on sharing the security burden more rigorously. And it is true that the Iraqi people are suffering mortally. The people who get killed every day by those insurgents are here and there an American soldier. Mostly, though, they are Iraqis. An estimated 1.8 million Iraqis have fled the country. One cannot count that less than a major sacrifice.

Yet Americans feel that the Iraqis' sacrifice is disproportionately low, and the single reason for this is that it is also Iraqis who are causing the tribulation in which American soldiers are being wounded and killed. And there is no strategic plan, issuing from the White House, that apportions the sacrifice being made to goals being accomplished. There is no sense of the sun rising every day on freshly liberated soil.

The American voter has therefore no strategic expectation of finality, and it is because of this that congressional dissidents are having so much success in waving before the voters individual dates when, through the manipulation of appropriated funds, reduced numbers of Americans would be available to effect whatever it is that the administration intends to effect.

A better formula than that of McCain is needed. We have our republic—if, as Benjamin Franklin cautioned at the close of the Constitutional Convention, we can keep it. The Constitution is a pretty orderly counting house specifying jurisdictions, privileges, and limitations. We have in the past six years fairly thoroughly rung up the presumptive authority of the chief executive to exercise the power of the military.

But there comes a time when rearward legions of a republic feel the need to assert their residual dominance, and we're getting very close to the moment when the people, surveying the policy, weighing its prospects, considering its benefits, step forward with their ultimate supremacy—we are a republic. Scorning revolution, they do so gradually, but definitively.

The voters express themselves in manifold ways. Their representatives are taking small steps toward dissociation from the war, but warning of major steps. We have one-half of U.S. senators disposed to say that the time is up. The only quarrel now is jurisdictional, not popular. The authority of the republic needs from time to time to be asserted. Not with the consent of everyone, but with the consent of everyone who accepts the rule of the people.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

The Express Checkout

Since I became National Review's in-house Demography Bore, I get a gazillion e-mails a day saying: "Well, if the death of Europe is really happening, how come no one else is talking about it except you and a few other fringe wackos?" Actually, quite a few folks are talking about it. For example:

"The expected global upheaval is without parallel in human history."

An extravagant bit of scaremongering from page 173 of my book? The late Oriana Fallaci with the swearwords cut out? No, it's the United Nations Population Division discussing the latest official figures, and anticipating in the next four decades population transformation of a scale and speed never before seen. There will be a vast emptying out of Central and Eastern Europe: Germany's population down 10.3 percent, Poland down 20.5 percent, the Russian Federation down 24.3 percent, Bulgaria down 35.2 percent. And in Western Europe the only population increase will be almost entirely due to the great migration from Africa and Asia.

To repeat: That's not me, that's the U.N. numbers. Since I turned into the Al Gore of the maternity ward (albeit with fewer celebrity groupies), I've been slightly bewildered by the opposing arguments. For example, several critics claim my figures are exaggerated—why, everybody knows Italy's fertility rate isn't 1.2, it's 1.25; it's absurd to suggest the Islamification of Europe will happen by 2025 or 2040, when it'll only start to kick in around . . . Well, they don't often go into that.

It's a curious line of reasoning: Yes, we're heading for the falls but not as fast as Steyn says; the Niagara's running pretty slowly so there's nothing to worry about. As it happens, I'll stick with my timeline, because demographic change does, indeed, kick in pretty quickly. Take a population of 10 million. Let's say 90 percent have 1.25 children per couple (which is the Italian fertility rate), and 10 percent have 3.5 children per couple (which is the estimated European Muslim fertility rate). Those nine million "Italians" will have 5.6 million children and 3.5 million grandchildren. The one million "Muslims" will have 1.75 million children and 3.1 million grandchildren. In other words, they'll have pretty much evened up the score within two generations. And that's before you add in continuing immigration, and, indeed, emigration (which is already becoming a factor in Dutch, German, and British demographic calculations)—not to mention accelerating rates of conversion.

In the shrewdest observation to mark the EU's 50th-anniversary jamboree, Pope Benedict said: "One must unfortunately note that Europe seems to be going down a road which could lead it to take its leave from history." It may be that an Islamified Belgium or Sweden will be a very pleasant place. Who knows? But that's the crux of the matter: If you outsource your future, it will be determined by the fellows you give the contract to.

I wonder if His Holiness gets the e-mails I get: The shriller ones denounce me as "racist"; the calmer voices point out that Muslim countries such as Tunisia are already seeing birth rates fall to near-European levels. To deal with the "racist" charge first: Islam, of course, is not a race, and, as is already clear, there are plenty of takers for it among pasty-faced white blokes. But what I find odd is the idea that merely drawing attention to Europe's self-extinction is "racist." If he had a tail and hung from a tree in the rain forest or were shivering on that ice floe instead of Al Gore's polar bear, we'd all be chipping in donations to the Save the Italian campaign. But, because he doesn't, it's "racist" even to discuss it.

So let's clarify matters by looking at demography without any complicating White Anglo-Saxon Post-Protestants clogging up the picture. For a year or more now, there's been a steady drip of "Who lost Turkey?" stories. The modern secular Muslim state—a country that gave women the vote before France did and was Israel's best friend in an otherwise hostile region—certainly, that Turkey seems to be getting de-boned by the hour: It now has an Islamist government whose prime minister has canceled trade deals with Israel, denounced the Iraqi elections, and frosted out the U.S. ambassador because he was Jewish; a new edition of *Mein Kampf* is prominently displayed at the airport bookstore. In other words, the Zionist Entity's best pal is starting to look like just another cookie-cutter death-to-the-Great-Satan stan of the month.

But among all the lamentations, only Michel Gurfinkiel's recent analysis in *Commentary* got to the underlying reality: Since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, there have been two Turkeys—the Turks of Rumelia, or European Turkey, and the Turks of Anatolia, or Asia Minor. Kemal Ataturk was from Rumelia and so were most of his supporters, and they imposed the modern Turkish Republic on a somewhat reluctant Anatolia, where Ataturk's distinction between the state and Islam was never accepted. In its 80-year history, the population has increased from 14 million to 70 million, but the vast bulk of that population growth has come from Anatolia, whose population has migrated from the rural hinterland to overwhelm the once solidly Kemalist cities.

Ataturk's modern secular Turkey has simply been outbred by fiercely Islamic Turkey. That's a lesson in demography from an all-Muslim sample: No pasty white blokes were involved. So the fact that Muslim fertility is declining in Tunisia is no consolation: All that will do, as in Turkey, is remove moderate Muslims from the equation too early in the game.

The U.N. Population Division says the demographic transformation underway is historically unprecedented. The Pope thinks that Germans and Poles and Italians have opted en masse for the express checkout. I don't pretend to have all the answers, but when complaceniks assure us there aren't even any questions they're either frauds or fools. **NR**

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We found our most important watch in a soldier's pocket

It's the summer of 1944 and a weathered U.S. sergeant is walking in Rome only days after the Allied Liberation. There is a joyous mood in the streets and this tough soldier wants to remember this day. He's only weeks away from returning home. He finds an interesting timepiece in a store just off the Via Veneto and he decides to splurge a little on this memento. He loved the way it felt in his hand, and the complex movement inside the case intrigued him. He really liked the hunter's back that opened to a secret compartment. He thought that he could squeeze a picture of his wife and new daughter in the case back. He wrote home that now he could count the hours until he returned to the States. This watch went on to survive some harrowing flights in a B-24 bomber and somehow made it back to the U.S. Besides the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star, my father cherished this watch because it was a reminder of the best part of the war for any soldier—the homecoming.

He nicknamed the watch *Ritorno* for homecoming, and the rare heirloom is now valued at $42,000 according to *The Complete Guide to Watches*. But to our family, it is just a reminder that nothing is more beautiful than the smile of a healthy returning GI.

The hunter's back

The Ritorno watch back opens to reveal a special compartment for a keepsake picture or can be engraved.

We wanted to bring this little piece of personal history back to life in a faithful reproduction of the original design. We've used a 27-jeweled movement reminiscent of the best watches of the 1940s and we built this watch with $26 million worth of Swiss built precision machinery. We then test it for 15 days on Swiss made calibrators to ensure accuracy to only seconds a day. The movement displays the day and date on the antique satin finished face and the sweep second hand lets any watch expert know that it has a fine automatic movement, not a mass-produced quartz movement. If you enjoy the rare, the classic, and the museum quality, we have a limited number of *Ritornos* available. We hope that it will remind you to take time to remember what is truly valuable. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price.

Stauer 1944 Ritorno $147 + S&H
Only 3 payments of $49 + S&H

800-806-1646

Promotional Code RTN183-01
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To order by mail, please call for details.

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